

Perceptions of Criminalization towards Sex Education among a Generational Sample of
Canadian Pakistani Muslims

by

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Abstract

Of late, the Liberal government and the Ontario Ministry of Education implemented revisions to the provincial sex education curriculum, such as gender expression and same-sex relationship dialogue. These revisions led to intense debate of sex education in Ontario. At the forefront of these protests were South Asians, specifically those of Muslim descent belonging to the Pakistani community. The content as well as age of learning was awkward and unconventional, and threatened the collectivistic patriarchal family life and social order creating, at times, a generational divide. The aim of this thesis is to qualitatively explore 16 Canadian Pakistani Muslims perceptions and process of stigmatization, marginalization and criminalization towards the revised sex education curriculum by generation using Berger's (1967) Heretical Imperative and Crenshaw's (1991) Intersectionality perspective. Research in this area is scarce and limited and my thesis aims to reconcile gaps in the scholarship and mobilize knowledge to educators and policy makers.

***Keywords:** Pakistani Canadian Muslims, South Asian, Public Schools, Sex education, Secular-Pluralism, Heretical Imperative, Intersectionality, Criminalization of sex education*

Dedication

To my parents, Saba Arif and Arif Khan, and grandmother, Ismat Shahnaz, whose love and support I will forever be indebted to.

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Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	viii
Chapter 1: Introduction and Significance of the Study	1
Chapter 2: Literature Review	6
a) Onset, History and Revisions of Sex Education in Ontario Public Schools	
6	
b) Criminalization of Sex Education among Canadian Pakistani Muslims	8
c) South Asian Pakistani Muslim Families, their Core Traditional Value Systems and Generational Divides	15
d) Gaps in Scholarship	19
Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework	16
Chapter 4: Methodology	22
Data Collection, Rationale and Technique	22
Sample, Sampling Method and Research Instrument	22
Coding and Data Analysis.....	24
Researcher Insider vs. Outsider Status and Personal bias	25
Chapter 5: Results	27
Sample Profile	27

Participant Characteristics and Background.....	30
First generation sample characteristics	30
Second generation sample characteristics	32
a) Perceptions of Criminalization towards Sex Education among First Generation Deductive Participants	35
b) Perceptions of Marginalization towards Sex Education among First Generation Inductive Participants	50
c) Perceptions of Criminalization towards Sex Education among Second Generation Deductive Participants	52
d) Perceptions of Marginalization towards Sex Education among Second Generation Inductive Participants	56
e) Perceptions of Stigmatization towards Sex Education among Second Generation Reductive Participants	65
Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion	72
Limitations and Future Directions	85
References	87
Appendix A: Comparison of <i>Health and Physical Education Curriculum</i>	97
Appendix B: Interview Guide	101
Appendix C: Consent Form	105

List of Tables

Table 1: Interview Coding of Groups and Pseudonyms24
Table 2: Characteristics of the Sample	29

List of Figures

Figure 1: Heretical Imperative, Intersectionality and Perceptions Towards Sex Education:
A Heuristic Device.....2

Chapter 1: Introduction and Significance of the Study

The 1990s marked a critical curriculum change for students in Ontario as sex education was systematically integrated into the Health and Physical Education Curriculum. During the 1960s, 1970s and 2000s social crises, such as rising Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) and teen pregnancy rates, placed pressure on government agencies, school boards, and educators to incorporate talks of sex and sexuality in the form of sexual education. The goal of the intended curricula was to provide comprehensive sexual health knowledge to Canadian youth (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2015). However, certain groups that had religious affiliations protested the implementation of the updated and revised curriculum. Despite protest, the Ontario Ministry of Education implemented revisions to the provincial sex education curriculum in 2015, which included elements of gender expression, sexting, internet use/abuse and same-sex relationship dialogue between students and teachers (Bialystok & Wright, 2017; Ontario Ministry of Education, 2015; Wong, Macpherson, Vahabi & Li, 2017). These revisions have led to intense debate of sex education in Ontario and scrutiny of Premier Kathleen Wynne by other political parties and protesters from parent, campaign life coalition, anti-abortion and Christian groups. At the forefront of these protests were South Asians from diverse backgrounds, but specifically those of Muslim descent (Bialystok & Wright, 2017) belonging to the Pakistani community.

While conversations of sex and sex education curriculum have always been contested by this racialized group to some degree, the newly revised content of the curriculum, like gender expression, sexting, internet use/abuse and especially the introduction of same-sex relationships, became problematic. The content, cultural and

religious appropriateness, as well as age of learning was awkward and unconventional (Bialystok & Wright, 2017; Figley, 1977; Halstead, 1997; Kingori, Ice, Hassan, Elmi, & Perko, 2016; Orgocka, 2004; Tabatabaie, 2015; Zain Al-Dien, 2010). Of the many Muslim groups that have migrated to Canada, first and second generation Canadian Pakistani Muslims have been affected the most by these revisions.

In Islam, the Qu'ran, Hadith and Islamic Sharia Law are fundamental reference guides for all Muslims (Bennett, 2007). These texts clearly outline Islamic principles and ways of life. With respect to sex and sex education, these religious texts endorse comprehensive sex education within scientific or biological grounds before marriage and decency, modesty, family life and sex after marriage (Bennett, 2007; Halstead, 1997; Ihwani, Muhtar, & Musa, 2017; Marcotte, 2015; Sanjakdar, 2009). These religious texts also stress that engaging in sexual relationships before marriage, as well as, dialogue which promotes premarital sex, watching sexual content, homosexuality and masturbation are considered sinful (haram). Haram actions are defined as criminal, illegal, "unlawful or prohibited" within the Quranic text (Potluri, Ansari, Khan, & Dasaraju, 2017, p. 36). All these things threaten the familial social order, cultural norm and collectivistic patriarchal family life creating, at times, a generational divide (Assanand, Dias, Richardson & Waxler-Morrison, 1990; Couture-Carron, 2015; Ghuman, 2003; Hamzaha & Oliver, 2010; Hawkey, Ussher, & Perz, 2017; Kingori et al., 2016; Orgocka, 2004; Shannahan, 2009; Tiwari et al., 2009; Zaidi, Couture-Carron, Maticka-Tyndale & Arif, 2014; Zain Al-Dien, 2010).

Identifying as a Canadian Pakistani Muslim immigrant in the host country poses many socio-cultural and religious challenges that may contradict traditions of the East,

especially across generations. Adapting to the new environment is quite the balancing act, specifically for the first generation, where some even try to “culturally freeze” their traditions in the home (Wakil, Siddique, & Wakil, 1981). The second generation learns to assimilate, acculturate and adapt to a certain degree (Berry, 1990). There is an automatic shift to alter and/or compromise traditional views in order to survive a modern secular-pluralistic Canadian society (Clark & Corcoran, 2000; Keton, 2014; Libin, 2006; Waugh, Abu-Laban & Qureshi, 1983; Yinger, 1967; Zaidi & Shuraydi, 2002). The process of assimilation and/or acculturation will result in preserving, modifying or discarding their traditional ways (Berger, 1967; Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006; Zain Al-Dien, 2010). Ongoing exposure to various internal and external (i.e. peer groups, educational institutions, technology and social media) influences stemming from the host society creates awareness, change and at times conflict (Wakil et al., 1981; Waugh et al., 1983). An introduction and exposure to the revised sex education curriculum also brings about unwarranted discussions and concerns in these families about a taboo, stigmatized or even criminalized subject matter amongst Canadian Pakistani Muslims.

For these reasons, an exploration of perceptions and process of stigmatization and/or criminalization towards sex education of Canadian Pakistani Muslims become important within the Canadian context. Within this context, criminalization is the belief that any sexual exposure prior to marriage and sex education, without having regard for the Islamic teachings, are haram or sinful outside of scientific or medical grounds especially prior to marriage. It is evident in the literature that one of the major gaps is that Muslims, South Asians, and Pakistanis are underrepresented in the scholarship on sex and sex education and most studies lump sum them into one homogeneous group. There is

limited specific research on this subgroup of Canadian Pakistani Muslims by generation on sexuality and/or the revised sex education curriculum (Halstead, 1997; Jibeen & Khalid, 2010).

Utilizing Berger's (1967) Heretical Imperative and Crenshaw's (1991) Intersectionality perspective, this thesis aims to address the following research objectives through a generational analysis:

- a) How do Canadian Pakistani Muslims, first and second generation, perceive sex education?
- b) To what extent do their perceptions stigmatize, marginalize, and/or criminalize sex and sex education?
- c) Is there a generational difference in how matters of sex education are perceived based on intersections of gender, time of immigration, self-perceived religiosity, education and age?
- d) How does the interplay of secular-pluralism, social, cultural, or religious shape both generations' perceptions towards sex and sex education?

Why is this relevant? First, research in the area of sexuality and sex education with respect to racialized minorities, especially about Canadian Pakistani Muslims, is scarce and dated. Second, this research mobilizes knowledge about perceptions towards criminalization of sex education by generation for a unique sample that is pretty much absent in the scholarship on sex and sex education. It gives voice to their perceptions. Third, the outcomes of this thesis, provides aid in on-going policy and research-based sex and sex education discussions with various boards and policy makers within Ontario. It also creates awareness about the Pakistani Muslim Family in Canada. Fourth, the

findings of this research may assist in developing a more culturally sensitive sex education curriculum for future generations of Canadian Pakistani Muslims.

The subsequent chapter systematically reviews the breadth and depth of scholarship as it relates to the current study. To begin, a brief history of sex education in Ontario public schools is discussed, followed by a discussion of the South Asian Pakistani Muslim family's characteristics and traditions that may play a role in shaping perceptions of criminalization of sex and sex education. I conclude by addressing gaps in existing scholarship.

In Chapter 3, two theories, heretical imperative and intersectionality perspective, are discussed to explain perceptions of criminalization towards sex education by this group.

In Chapter 4, the methodology is presented. Here, I provide details about the sample, data collection technique, method of analysis, research rationale, inclusion and exclusion criteria, sampling technique, and personal biases.

In Chapter 5, I provide the results. First, I provide an overview of all participant characteristics with their individual profiles. I then analyze and present a thematic analysis by generations of all 16 participants.

In the final chapter, I present a summary of my findings, a discussion, and conclusion. I also discuss limitations of the current study and directions for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Perceptions of criminalization towards sex education within the Ontario public school system has not been heavily researched, especially from the perspective of Canadian Pakistani Muslims. It is evident in the scholarship that talks of sex and sex education is definitely not okay or the cultural norm in the Pakistani Muslim family, even if it is acceptable in the public school system. This section of my thesis discusses and highlights the history of sex education, the criminalization of the revised sex education curriculum, the South Asian Muslim family and its core value and familial characteristics by contextualizing key factors that may impact one's perceptions towards sexuality and sex education, and gaps in the research.

a) Onset, History and Revisions of Sex Education in Ontario Public Schools

The provincial government regulates education in Canada (Government of Canada, 2016), and most provinces have implemented sex education policies. These policies were designed to create awareness of contraceptives such as oral contraceptives or condoms and to decrease Sexually Transmitted Infections (STI), which have been a persistent healthcare concern in Canada (Deering, Tyndall, & Koehoorn, 2010). Throughout the 90s, STI rates of gonorrhea, syphilis (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2010; 2012; Marsman & Herold, 1986) and chlamydia rapidly increased (Patrick, Wong, & Jordan, 2000; Deering et al., 2010). Deering et al. (2010) reported a 70% increase in the chlamydia rates between 1997 and 2007. To address concerns pertaining to the increase in STIs, the Ontario Ministry of Education implemented the Health and Physical

Education Curriculum for grades 1 to 8 in 1998, grades 9 to 10 in 1999 and grades 11 to 12 in 2000¹ (Ontario Ministry of Education, 1998; 1999; 2000; 2010; 2015).

In 2010, revisions to the 1998-1999 sex education strand of Health and Physical Education Curriculum began (Public Health Agency of Canada, 2010). Although the previous curriculum was considered comprehensive and inclusive, abstinence was promoted (Connell, 2005) as opposed to other “...factors that need to be considered when making decisions related to sexual health” (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2015, p. 199; McKay, Pietrusiak, & Holowaty, 1998; Maticka-Tyndale, Barrett, & McKay, 2000). Research showed that modest cultural and religious groups (Figley, 1977) have favoured the abstinence approach. However, due to the lack of success observed in abstinence-based sex education programs, Premier Kathleen Wynne implemented controversial revisions to the sex education strand of the Health and Physical Education Curriculum in 2015 (Bialystok & Wright, 2017; Rushowy, 2015). The initiative proposed a stronger emphasis and integration of gender identity, gender expressions, sexual orientation (i.e., homosexuality), and “thematic threads relating to consent and healthy relationships” (Bialystok & Wright, 2017, p. 6). Thus, the most recent and revised sex education curriculum resulted in a more comprehensive package that aimed to meet the needs of a diverse society.

Research has consistently favoured a comprehensive approach to sex education as it has shown positive effects on youth, such as reductions in unplanned pregnancies and contraction of STIs (Bleakley et al., 2006; Kirby, 2008; Kohler, Manhart & Lafferty, 2008; Santelli et al., 2006; Smylie, Maticka-Tyndale, & Boyd, 2008; Stanger-Hall &

¹ Appendix A: Comparison of *Health and Physical Education* curriculum

Hall, 2011; Starkman & Rajani, 2002). While comprehensive sex education programs are holistic in nature, they fail to recognize the belief systems of other religious views on sex. Further, some scholars argue that such programs homogenize sexuality and give little attention to the experiences of visible minorities with respect to sex education (Bialystok & Wright, 2017; Halstead, 1997; Jibeen & Khalid, 2010; Wong et al., 2017). So how does all this relate to perceptions towards sex education and the revised curriculum? ■

b) Criminalization of Sex Education among Canadian Pakistani Muslims

The rallies and protest about the revised sex education curriculum speaks to these core collectivistic value systems. For example, part of the educational curriculum in the educational school system is to partake in sex education for your own knowledge and well-being. Some Pakistani Muslim families do not share that same sentiment and have a difficult time placing their son and daughter in such a class for reasons related to family honour and traditional religious beliefs. The Islamic or Pakistani community members and religious priests may even get involved to aid families in this decision-making process. Halstead (1997) suggests that the opposition of sex education stems from the disregard for Islamic principles in the programming and methodology offered in public schools. According to Ihwani et al. (2017), “a Muslim cannot accept Western sex education taught in schools for practicing a concept free from morality and safe sexual activities” (p.7). There is a fear that sex education imposes western values on children as a result “Muslim values are [perceived to be] in danger” (Halstead, 1997, p. 317; Marcotte, 2015). What lies at the heart of these fears is that the current practice and topics in the revised sex education curriculum is in serious conflict with Islamic teaching. This strong opposition to sex education is not universal for all Muslims. Many Canadian

Pakistani Muslims do not endorse a negative view of sex education in the secular state. Some families express an interest and like to partake in sex education conversations. However, these individuals may become victim to familial, religious and/or cultural pressures and shunned by community members (Marcotte, 2015; Orgocka, 2004; Wakil et al., 1981).

Researchers in this area have found extensive evidence that comprehensive sex education reduces the incidence of unplanned pregnancies and STIs, and delays sexual intimacy among youth (Bennett, 2007; Kohler et al., 2008; Smylie et al., 2008; Weaver, Smith & Kippax, 2005). Contrary to popular belief which finds sex education to encourage premarital sex, evidence from past scholarship has indicated that sex education may in fact help meet religious ideals for Muslim youth by helping them abstain from premarital sexual relations. Bennett (2007) asserts “In an era where the age of marriage is steadily increasing, there are clear benefits from education that can assist the delay of sexual initiation” (p.380).

Overall, it becomes apparent that Islamic teachings and philosophies regarding sexuality are challenged in the secular-pluralistic classroom, and therefore, creates opposition, stigmatizes this learning and criminalizes this type of sex education for the following reasons:

First, some of the materials used in sex education offend against the Islamic principle of modesty and decency. Secondly, contemporary sex education tends to present certain behaviour as normal or acceptable which Muslims believe is sinful. Thirdly, sex education is perceived as tending to undermine the Islamic concept of family life (Halstead, 1997, p. 319).

The objection to Western practices of sex education by Muslims is based on the significance provided to the needs of the individual rather than the word of God

(Halstead, 1977; Ihwani et al., 2017). For Muslims, all aspects of life, especially sex and sexuality should begin "with the will of God" (Bennett, 2007; Bouhdiba, 1985, as cited in Halstead, 1997, p.321; Hamzeh & Oliver, 2010; Ihwani et al., 2017) instead of individual desires.

Based on the above, the negative connotations towards sex education make it “criminal” in the eyes of some Pakistani Muslim families. Criminalization of sex education by generations of Pakistani Muslims may be a process that begins with the stigmatization label and ends with criminalization. To reiterate, criminalization for this thesis, is the belief that any sexual exposure prior to marriage and sex education, without having regard for the Islamic teachings, are haram or sinful outside of scientific or medical grounds especially prior to marriage. Whether sex education will be perceived as criminal or not and where individual perceptions fall on this continuum can, in part, be explained by intersecting factors such as gender expectations, age, time of immigration, culture and self-perceived religiosity and education (Assanand et al., 1990; Chaudhary & Guarnizo, 2016). Research does indicate that in matters of sex and sexuality these factors do indeed play a great influence (Zaidi et al., 2014; Smerecnik, Schaalma, Gerjo, Meijer & Poelman, 2010).

Living in a pluralist democratic society implies an obligation to respect and take account of the beliefs and values of the many racialized groups, especially on sensitive matters of sexuality and sex education where education of children is concerned. Learning about how old and young generations perceive the newly revised sex education curriculum may help understand perceptions of this minority group and may implement

some changes to the current curriculum to establish a compromise and way forward to create a socially just sex education curriculum. ■

c) South Asian Pakistani Muslim Families, their Core Traditional Value Systems and the Generational Divides

South Asians are one of the largest and fastest growing groups in Canada and the Greater Toronto Area (GTA); these immigrants come from countries such as Sri Lanka, India and Pakistan (Couture, 2011). In Ontario alone, there are approximately 610, 200 immigrants from these countries (Couture, 2011; Martel & D'Aoust, 2016; Statistics Canada, 2017). Of these, an estimated 23% identify as Pakistani in major cities like Toronto (Jibeen, 2011; Naidoo & Davis, 1988; Statistics Canada, 2017). The Pakistani population in Canada is incredibly diverse, and is distinct from other South Asian groups as they migrate from a religious state commonly referred to as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan (Jibeen & Khalid, 2010). Research suggests that Muslims are one of the fastest growing religious groups in Canada (Banerjee et al., 2017; Bromberg, 2016; Helly & Perry, 2011), wherein approximately 90% of Canadian Pakistanis follow Islam (Jibeen & Hynie, 2012). This continuous rise in immigration of Pakistani Muslim immigrants to Canada warrants an increase in scholarship about this racialized group. It becomes even more important to research and uncover the diversity in values and belief systems, as well as acculturative stressors these individuals face in their daily lives and how it shapes their perceptions.

In Islam, texts, such as the Quran, provide a “moral conduct [for] all people in all situations” (Alvi, 1985, p.5; Jibeen & Hynie, 2012). Further, scholarship has indicated

that Islam centres on five main pillars: (1) “The Shahada: Declaration of Faith” (Kirby, 1997, p. 198); (2) Five times a day prayer; (3) “Zakat” or giving charity; (4) Keeping fast during the month of Ramadan; And, (5) Religious pilgrimage to Mecca (Bennett, 2007; Kamal-ud-Din, 2010, p. 8-13; Kirby, 1997). While Islam has prescribed these pillars for Muslims, challenges related to acculturative stressors faced by Muslims in secular-pluralistic societies, such as Canada, are not usually related to these pillars. Instead, these challenges arise from the explicit prohibition of certain behaviours, such as drinking alcohol, eating pork, interacting with the opposite sex outside of family members, and participating in pre-marital sexual relationships (Alvi, 1985; Halstead, 1977) which are commonly accepted aspects of Canadian society. Recently, however, these challenges and stressors have been further exacerbated as a result of the othering of Muslims by media. This othering is exemplified through the debates and protests surrounding the revised sex education curriculum in Ontario. Bialystok and Wright (2017) assert that “‘sex ed’ [has become] a proxy for a conversation about national identity – about who the ‘real’ Canadians are” (p. 7), as a result, Muslims are perceived to be “backwards” and “othered” (p. 8).

This collectivistic, patriarchal and shame-oriented household in Canada is almost always in transition and negotiation(s) (Couture-Carron, 2015). They are most always engaged, especially the second generation, in a balancing act of meeting the needs and/or demands of East and West, especially their culture, tradition and old ways or traditional ways of life (Zaidi & Shuraydi, 2002). There are stark differences seen in the host and heritage countries. The core Pakistani family and community establish and reinforce expectations familial and community oriented expectations, such as gendered behaviours

and/or roles, respect to and of elders and family honour (Talbani & Hasanali, 2000). Essentially, the needs and expectations of the group are more valued over the needs of the individual (Helms, 2015; Solberg, 2009). In the host society, the individual comes first before others. The decisions and choices you make are solely for you. Immediate and extended families are informed about a decision and not asked about it.

Upon migration to a secular-pluralist society, these Pakistani Muslim families are exposed to a multitude of internal (i.e., parents, siblings) and external (i.e., peers, school, internet, social media) socialization agents. This ongoing exposure forces them to learn, navigate and negotiate the traditional familial ways and perhaps adapt to certain ways of the host society, which may result in “acculturative stress” (Berry et al., 2006). During this phase, individuals belonging to both the younger and older generation must decide to reaffirm their traditional beliefs and reject the host society values, modernize their traditional beliefs or integrate their traditional beliefs with the host society values (Berger, 1979). In some cases, individuals are in a state of “liminality”, where the individual is described as “betwixt and between” (Scott, 2013, p. 11; Turner, 1967). The individual’s social state of in-betweenness could either help or hinder them as well as create difficulties in making choices (Borg & Söderlund, 2015). Other scholars have also documented this, especially for younger generations of being “caught-between two cultures” and creating a balance between family, culture, religion and peers (Wakil et al., 1981, p. 940; Zaidi et al., 2014). It is the expected norm that youth must display traditional values at home and conform to the expectations of modern Canadian society outside of the home with peers or at school (Cense, 2014). Research suggests that it is the older generation that is often reported to carry the traditional beliefs or “culturally freeze”

traditional ways (Wakil et al., 1981), while the younger generation is able to easily integrate and assimilate into the ways of the host society (Berry et al., 2006), even if it threatens family honour. Socio-cultural and religious “ideals” are not readily accepted and are negotiated, especially by the younger generation. One’s age, time of immigration, gender affinity to their culture, level of education and religiosity may all play an integral role in shaping one’s perceptions, especially by generation (Zaidi et al., 2014).

In Pakistani Muslim families, there is a huge burden of upholding family honour, especially for women and young girls (Helms, 2015; Hennink, Rana, & Iqbal, 2005; Lalonde, Hynie, Pannu, & Tatla, 2004; Solberg, 2009; Wakil et al., 1981). Family honour may be seen as the overall worth of the family’s reputation in a community or society (Khoury-Kassabri, 2016). Most often, the responsibility of upholding the family’s honour is placed on the women in the family as they must ensure that their children, especially daughters, effectively implement the gendered standards and follow the social, cultural and religious belief system (George & Ramkissoon, 1998; Hawkey et al., 2017; Marcotte, 2015; Orgocka, 2004) and continue to put the family first. To preserve family honour in a Muslim household, the family must maintain a positive reputation within their families and community (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). A family’s reputation or honour may be easily threatened or diminished when individual members begin to stray away from core values and principles (Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2002). Past scholarship suggests that Pakistani women in Canada play a double role or hold dual lives, especially the younger generations (Handa, 1997; Zaidi & Shuraydi, 2002). Ties to family honour in host countries are weakened and shame is experienced within the

communities when behaviours and perceptions begin to embrace the individualistic ways (Dwyer, 2000; Patel & Gadit, 2008). Canada, unlike the Pakistani Muslim household, promotes individualism (Ihwani, Muhtar, & Musa, 2017; Langrial, Kashif, & Ehsan, 2014; Peach, 2006; Sanjakdar, 2009), this begins at the core educational institutions (i.e., public school system). The Canadian value system embraces the exact opposite. For example, the public school system promotes sex education and talks of sexuality while Pakistani Muslim families view discussions of sexuality prior to marriage as taboo and some families do not openly communicate about things like sex and sex education and do not allow their children to partake in such programs that may threaten family honour.

d) Gaps in the Scholarship

Research in this area is scarce and limited. Some gaps in the scholarship are noteworthy. First, most research in this area puts everyone in a homogenized group of South Asians or Muslims, without considering their socio-cultural differences. There are clear distinctions amongst, for example an Indian Muslim versus a Christian Muslim or a Pakistani Muslim. Second, research on sex education in a democratic pluralist society in North America is hard to locate. Most studies are done in the U.K., Australia or Europe. Moreover, these studies are dated and do not work with a subset of South Asians or Muslims. Again, most individuals are lump-summed into one large group. Third, there is a greater need for more qualitative work and larger sample sizes that are race specific. This will allow researchers to understand the minute differences between groups and provide more thick descriptive, empathetic accounts of their definition of the situation with respect to sex education. Lastly, there needs to be more research on sexuality and sex education, as well as healthy sexuality and South Asian Pakistani families. The

discourse is minimal. With increased research in this area, South Asians, Muslims from various cultures, teachers and policy makers will have a better road map to follow and guide these individuals, especially the younger generation. My thesis aims to reconcile some of these gaps.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This research is guided by two theoretical explanations, namely Peter Berger's (1979) Heretical Imperative and Kimberly Crenshaw's (1991) Intersectionality perspective. Utilizing both theories in combination allows for a more in-depth explanation of perceptions of criminalization toward sex education by Canadian Pakistani Muslims.

Berger's (1979) Heretical Imperative is inclusive of world religions like Hinduism, Catholicism, Christianity and Islam and has a strong thread of religion and belief. The key thrust of his theoretical argument centres around religion and religious beliefs and how "modernity" or secular pluralism has infiltrated traditional belief systems which make individuals question or reexamine their life's purpose, existence and old-fashioned ways (Camorrino, 2016; Chance, 2004; Kline III, 2001). Berger contends that every society has its own normative order or nomos, which is fluid and ever changing (Berger, 1967). With exposure to the secular pluralistic world, this normative order may be threatened and feelings of hostility, threat to ethnic identity, rejection and/or discrimination may kick in, especially where modernity and technological innovation is at a peak. This in turn may create questions, conflicts, social change and multiple belief

systems (Berger, 1967; Berry 1997; Hull, 2000; Sullivan, 2007). Berger identifies three labels, deductive, reductive and inductive, that individuals may take on when experiencing and living in a modern secular pluralistic state:

a) *The Deductive Approach*. In this label, Berger (1979) discusses how even upon exposure to the modern world or ways, individuals reaffirm their belief or traditional ways of life. For example, they continue with the call to prayer or other religious or cultural ways. Such individuals are often more vocal about their beliefs. Individuals who fall into the deductive category build ties within the community in order to provide support and strengthen their religious values collectively without external influence (Sullivan, 2007). In the context of this thesis, generations may “reject” the ways of the host society and may criminalize sex and sex education because, despite residing in a modern secular-pluralist state their views are fixed and rigid; they reaffirm their traditional ways through individual religious and/or cultural commitments and community engagement. Challenging the normative order is not the best option here. In this category, “the word of God” and traditional belief systems takes precedence.

b) *The Reductive Approach*. Individuals that identify as “reductive” are impacted by modernization and secular-pluralism. Here, secularization of tradition occurs and individuals become quite critical of the traditional ways. For example, Berger (1979) states that “the dominant secularity exerts cognitive pressure upon the religious consciousness.” (p. 99). The pressures created through the intersections of environment (secular state) and religion force the individual to choose one of the two options identified by Berger (1979): reject the religious background completely or modify the values through “cognitive bargaining” (p. 100). Cognitive bargaining involves yielding

certain practices while keeping others in order to avoid feelings of guilt regarding the abandonment of traditional values. The splendor of modernity creates a need for some individuals to compromise their religious “old” traditions (Hull, 2000; Libin, 2006) and make acceptance for the host society ways. Participants in this thesis who identify as reductive, are more likely to assimilate into the host society and as a result feel a stronger sense of belonging. Perceptions towards sex education are viewed as stigmatized, where they may not be 100% agreement to some of the practices or acts. This label is far more inclusive and allows participants to have greater social acceptance.

c) *The Inductive Approach*. This final category is the “experiential” one, in which Berger (1979) “takes on human experiences as the starting point of cultural and/or religious reflection” (p. 127). Here, the individual’s religious traditions and values are affirmed by experiences. An inductive individual is open to a multitude of possibilities and keeps an open mind. The inductive approach is characterized by an attempt to uncover and recover the original experiences of a particular tradition. They believe an individual’s traditional and/or religious experiences dominate. A participant who fits with this identity is precarious and indecisive and are usually the man in the middle.

In sum, Berger’s Heretical Imperative is a social explanation that responds to migration into a secular pluralistic “modernized” state and the outcomes that follow when individuals accept, reject or modify their traditional belief system. These outcomes are further intensified and altered by mediating factors, such as gender expectations, generation, time of immigration, culture and self-perceived religiosity, education and engagement in information technology. On-going exposure to the intersections of these mediating factors, internally and externally, may influence the belief system.

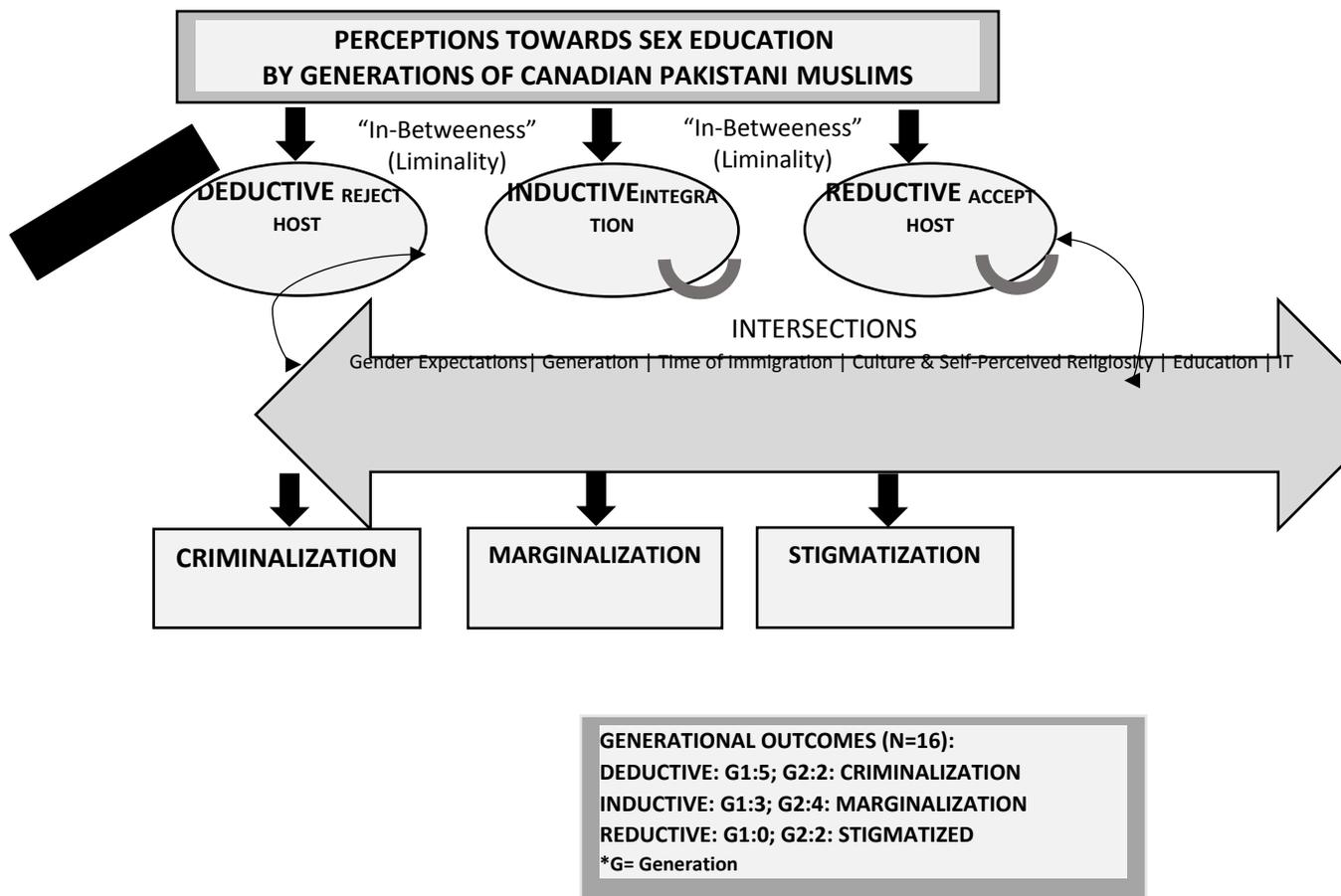
Intersectionality is a framework for conceptualizing a person, group of people, or social problem affected by a number of discriminations and disadvantages (Crenshaw, 1991). Intersectionality theorists “reject the notion that identity is a single causal factor” (Libin, 2006, p. 5). Intersectionality recognizes that identity markers (e.g. “female” and “black”) do not exist independently of each other, and that each informs the others, often creating a complex convergence of oppression. Understanding intersectionality is essential to understanding how people perceive and come to understand certain social phenomenon. Intersectional analysis is based on the premise that lived experiences cannot be understood from the perspective of only one position or identity. Scholars who advocate for the Intersectionality perspective assert that an individual’s identity is comprised of multiple intersecting and inseparable aspects, such as: gender, age, race, immigration to name a few (Alvi & Zaidi, 2017). These aspects are inseparable as they make up the differences in an individual’s lived experiences and social reality (Zaidi et al., 2014). Therefore, examining intersections to build coherent social explanations is critical.

Integrating Crenshaw’s Intersectionality perspective to the Heretical Imperative (see Figure 1) to assess one’s perceptions of criminalization towards sex education by Canadian Pakistani Muslims illustrates that an individual’s identity or label of deductive, inductive and reductive, is comprised of multiple intersecting and inseparable identities. Identities, like generation, gender expectations, time of immigration, affinity to culture, self-perceived religiosity, and level of education all intersect and play a role in shaping individual perceptions of criminalization toward sex education (Carbado, Crenshaw, Mays & Tomlinson, 2013). Examining the heretical imperative in combination allows us

to explain the outcomes. The shifting normative order, as well as the various intersections, may influence their belief system to a certain degree. For instance, an individual who falls into the category of deductive may perceive sex education is haram or criminal. However, this outcome can ignore certain identities, like time of immigration or levels of self-perceived religiosity, which rejects the revised sex education curriculum and the transparency of sex education seen in the Canadian public school systems; accordingly the individual will retreat to their traditional views of sex and sex education (Sullivan, 2007).

Overall, exploring both theories simultaneously is imperative to understanding the process of the Heretical Imperative with the interplay of multiple identities intersecting with each outcome. This type of social explanation becomes important and relevant to the analysis of Canadian Pakistani Muslims of varying generations with regards to their perceptions towards the revised sex education curriculum.

Figure 1: Heretical Imperative, Intersectionality and Perceptions Towards Sex Education: A Heuristic Device



Chapter 4: Methodology

Data Collection, Rationale and Technique

Current research on sex education in Canada has heavily relied on quantitative methods to analyze perceptions and outcomes, using questionnaires or surveys (Byers et al., 2003; Maticka-Tyndale, Barrett & McKay, 2000; Pole & Flicker, 2010). This research utilizes an inductive qualitative methodology approach, using face-to-face interviews to explore perceptions of sex education among a generational sample of Canadian Pakistani Muslims. An interpretivist methodological framework guarantees rich thick descriptive outcomes and provides the researcher with participants' social reality from their definition of the situation. Quantitative research is not able to grasp these same intricacies. This research began once REB clearance by the university was acquired.

Sample, Sampling Method and Research Instrument

The non-probability purposive sample for this study consists of two generations of Canadian South Asian Muslims residing in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). To meet the inclusion criteria, participants had to be 18 years of age or over, Pakistani, Muslim

immigrants of Canada or born or raised here at an early age and have kids enrolled in the public school system. First generation participants were defined as those who immigrated to Canada post-1985. Second generation participants were those individuals who were born in Canada or migrated before eight years of age. Posters were used to recruit participants and posted in mosques in the GTA and universities/colleges.

The chosen method of data collection was face-to-face semi-structured interviews. This allowed for a natural conversation without digressing too much from the interview guide, but did allow for some digression(s) if needed. This technique also allowed the researcher to establish rapport and attain high-quality holistic accounts and narratives from all participants. The purpose of the face-to-face interview is to gain thick descriptive insight into the lived experiences of these individuals and to better understand and identify the key issues that may affect their perceptions of criminalization towards sex education in public school systems. These interviews were conducted at a university campus in an office space or at the homes of these individuals. Due to my contacts and links with the Pakistani Muslim Community, my insider status allowed me to be perceived as a trustworthy person. All interviews, on average last about 1.5 hours, some were less and some were more than this period.

The interview schedule addressed key themes about participants' demographics and the main research objectives of the current study. The research questions were: (1) How do Canadian Pakistani Muslims, first and second generation, perceive sex education?; (2) To what extent do their perceptions stigmatize, marginalize, and/or criminalize sex and sex education; (3) Is there a generational difference in how matters of sex education are perceived based on intersections of gender, time of immigration, self-

perceived religiosity, education and age?; and (4) How does the interplay of secular-pluralism, social, cultural, or religious shape both generations' perceptions towards sex and sex education. All 16 interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. A sample profile was created. All data was confidential and anonymous (i.e., pseudonyms were used to replace actual names). Any transcribed interviews were stored on a secure hard drive and a back-up storage server, which was password protected. Only the researcher had full access to the data. Participants of both generations were provided a small honorarium in appreciation of their participation in my study.

Coding and Data Analysis

Upon completion of data collection, the interviews were transcribed and then analyzed to help answer the main research objectives. A thematic analysis was done by generation to explore the similarities and differences of how perceptions of criminalization towards sex education vary. The two generational groupings were: first generation and second generation. Various codes were applied to the data and certain quotes by participants were utilized to substantiate claims. Further, with consent, participants were emailed their transcript and analysis to partake in a process of member checking. Member checking was designed to help enhance the “trustworthiness” and reliability of qualitative research (Carlson, 2010, p. 1103; Creswell & Miller, 2000). Essentially, it ensured that data was collected and analyzed ethically, and consistent with the participants' lived experiences and their construction of social reality. Participants who agreed were sent summaries of data analyses (via email) and asked to provide feedback on whether their own experiences are consistent with the analysis of data.

Table 1
Interview Coding of Groups and Pseudonyms

GROUPS by GENERATION	PSEUDONYMS
Group A: Four couples (male-female) who are first-generation immigrant Pakistani parents who are married to each other and migrated post 1985.	Yasir Yasin Yacoub Younus Bineen Bilkis Basma Benazir
Group B: Four second-generation born or naturalized single Pakistani males.	Zakir Zameer Zohaib Zaid
Group C: Four second-generation naturalized single Pakistani females.	Afra Asma Aisha Aliya

Researcher Insider vs. Outsider Status and Personal Biases

A researcher’s insider-outsider status influences the outcome(s) and credibility of qualitative research (Couture, Zaidi & Maticka-Tyndale, 2012). In this research, I personally felt that I assumed both insider and outsider statuses. I identify as a second generation Canadian single woman in her mid-twenties who is a naturalized citizen of Canada and lives in a generational household. I sensed this insider position allowed me to understand and truly empathize with my participants’ perceptions. I understood their storytelling, nothing was a surprise. Through my own social reality and experiences with my family members, I was able to relate to the conflicts and controversies surrounding this topic. Being female gave me greater understanding of the female participants. I was able to understand and identify with them at so many levels, especially the second generation. With men, I found my gender identity labelled me as an outsider and at times became problematic with such a sensitive and “hush-hush” topic. I

found that men of both generations often avoided eye contact with me and gave short responses, especially on matters of sex and sexuality.

The generation I belong to also contributed to my insider-outsider status. The second generation was more open to conversations regarding this issue, but the first generation, at times, was less willing to provide details. Identifying as a Pakistani Muslim definitely aided this research and provided me access to various community members. However, this insider status sometimes was taken for granted by participants and they would not fully explain various things, especially religious concepts. Participants would use terms such as “haram”, “namaz” and “sadaqah” without providing context or detail for the researcher and assume I understood. This, at times, was problematic because their assumptions would not provide the contextual thick descriptive finding that I may have been exploring. In addition, belonging to the community and working with such a bold topic, I sensed certain participants, especially those belonging to the first generation, would be quick to judge me or answer in a socially desirable manner. Overall, at times, I felt given the subject matter of this thesis, being an insider was helpful on many levels, such as accessibility to sampling and empathetic understandings; however, being an insider at times worked to a disadvantage as it limited the quality of the descriptions provided. This realization made me critical of the research process and made me wonder if I was not a second generation Pakistani Muslim, and perhaps a Caucasian interviewer, would I get different responses?

Chapter 5: Results

The results for this thesis begin with an overview of the sample profile along with a key demographic sample characteristics followed by a description of each participant's background by generation. The sample was heterogeneous and varied by age, gender, education, employment, self-perceived religiosity, time of immigration and citizenship status, culture and their use of information technology. I then present a detailed analysis of the seven themes, namely: (1) the role belief systems in shaping perceptions towards sex education, (2) communication in the home, (3) sex, Dating and Casual Sexual Relationships, "Flings", (4) perceptions towards sex education (5) influencers of sex education, (6) perceived problems in the revised sex education curriculum, and (7) where sex education perceptions stem from. These themes are presented, discussed and dissected in keeping with the generational groupings (i.e., first generation and second generation). Providing a discussion of these themes by generation helps to address the

main research objectives of this study as well as integrate the theoretical frameworks with factors that influence perceptions of sex education among Canadian Pakistani Muslims.

Sample Profile

A total of 16 first and second generation men and women were interviewed for this study, ranging from 18 to 53 years of age. All participants are currently residing in Canada, are of Pakistani origin and affiliated with the Islamic religion. Three participants were born in Canada and 13 were born in Pakistan and later immigrated to Canada. Of the 16 participants, eight participants fall under the second-generation and eight participants are categorized under first-generation. Further, the majority of participants fell into the deductive (44%) and inductive (44%) categories of the heretical imperative. Finally, three participants are permanent residents and 13 are Canadian citizens. Table 2 displays key characteristics of the two generational groups based on mediating factors, such as like sex, age range, citizenship statues, culture and self-perceived religiosity, education and use of information technology. It is important to note that this sample is not representative of the all Canadian Pakistani Muslim.

Table 2
Characteristics of the Sample by Generation

Key Demographics	First Generation	Second Generation
Age Range	▪ 37 to 53 years	▪ 18 to 26 years
Sex	▪ 4 men ▪ 4 women	▪ 4 men ▪ 4 women
Education	▪ 2 Completed High School ▪ 1 Some College or University ▪ 5 Some or Completed Graduate Studies	▪ 5 Some College or University ▪ 2 Completed College or University ▪ 1 Some or Completed Graduate Studies
Employment	▪ 6 Employed ▪ 2 Unemployed	▪ 3 Employed ▪ 5 Unemployed
Citizenship Status	▪ 5 Canadian Citizen ▪ 3 Permanent Resident	▪ 8 Canadian Citizen ▪ 0 Permanent Resident
Self-perceived Religiosity	▪ 5 High self-perceived religiosity ▪ 3 Moderate self-perceived religiosity	▪ 2 High self-perceived religiosity ▪ 4 Moderate self-perceived religiosity ▪ 2 Low self-perceived religiosity
Influences of Culture	▪ Respect for elders ▪ Respect for the family and it's values ▪ Need to protect children from "open" society	▪ Respect for elders ▪ Maintenance of modesty out of respect for family values ▪ Perceived gender biases
Use of Information Technology	▪ Social Media for communication with family: Facebook Messenger, WhatsApp, Skype ▪ Knowledge of Microsoft Office:	▪ Social Media: Facebook, Instagram, YouTube and Snapchat ▪ Search Engines: Google and "Internet"

	Excel and Word	
Heretical Imperative Typology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 5 Deductive ▪ 3 Inductive ▪ 0 Reductive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2 Deductive ▪ 4 Inductive ▪ 2 Reductive
Perceptions of Revised Sex Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 5 Criminalization ▪ 3 Marginalization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2 Criminalization ▪ 4 Marginalization ▪ 2 Stigmatization

Participant Characteristics and Background

First generation sample characteristics. Yasir is a 40 year old Canadian citizen and has resided here for 16 years. He migrated to Canada alone for educational purposes, and has been working as a pharmacist/pharmacy manager for approximately 10 years. Yasir was the oldest of five siblings and had two sisters and two brothers. Yasir returned to Pakistan to marry his wife Bineen. Yasir has three children: two boys and a girl. Two of his children are enrolled in an Ontario Public school. He described himself as very religious “*about an 8 or 9 I guess*”.

Yasin is a 53 year old male who migrated to Canada and has resided here for 22 years. Yasin was married before he migrated and has three children: two older daughters and a younger son. Yasin was the second youngest of five siblings, he had three sisters and one brother. Yasin described himself as a Sunni Muslim who was very religious. This was made evident when he stated “*I love my religion and Allah [God], it is everything to*

me and it tells me how I should live". Yasin believed that his level of religiosity had increased after he came to Canada.

Yacoub is a naturalized Canadian citizen who has resided in Canada for 18 years. Yacoub is 48 years old, male and married to Basma. He had three younger siblings, a brother and two sisters. His youngest sister passed away in a tragic accident as a child. Yacoub is a truck driver and a guest services representative for a large hotel chain. He has three sons and described himself as very religious, he stated *"I am a 8 out of 10...I love my religion, it is the best"*.

Younus is a 50 year old male with permanent residency status in Canada. Younus has resided in Canada for three years with his wife and son. He has a master's in business administration and physics. In Canada he is working as a Loss Prevention officer, but in Pakistan he was working for international banks as a treasurer and foreign exchange dealer. Younus described himself as moderately religious by choice.

Bineen is a 37 year old female. She migrated to Canada three years ago after marriage and holds permanent residency status. Bineen is the youngest of three sisters. Before coming to Canada, Bineen had completed her residency for medical school. She was in the process of becoming a licensed physician in Canada. Bineen has three children: two sons and a daughter. She described herself as very religious and took hijab. Bineen noticed that her religiosity had increased after she came to Canada and became more familiar with her community.

Bilkis is a 52 year old, female Canadian citizen with three children. Bilkis migrated to Canada with her husband 22 years ago and has resided in different parts of the GTA since. She completed her master's in education in Pakistan and worked as a

teacher for many years. In Canada, Bilkis was a homemaker. Bilkis had three older sisters and two younger brothers. She described herself as moderately religious, but took hijab.

Basma is a 44 year old Canadian citizen who has resided in Canada for 18 years. Basma's native language is Punjabi and she migrated to Canada with her husband after marriage. Basma has three sons and works as an esthetician and bridal consultant. Since arriving to Canada, Basma has resided in primarily South Asian areas of the GTA. For Basma being surrounded by her own community is very important. Basma is very religious *"I pray five times a day, I fast and read Quran. I am involved with my mosque and community"*.

Benazir is a 46 year old permanent resident in Canada. Benazir, her husband Younus and their son have resided in Canada for three years. Benazir had a unique childhood as her father passed away while she was very young. Her mother was the head of the household and made all decisions. Benazir has two older brothers and was a practicing gynecologist in Pakistan. Before migrating to Canada, Benazir and her family resided in Saudi Arabia for three years where she also worked as a gynecologist. In Canada, Benazir is in the process of becoming a licensed gynecologist. Benazir described herself as moderately religious because she felt that she still had so much to learn about her religion.

Second generation sample characteristics. Zakir is a 25 year old Canadian born male of Pakistani descent. His family emigrated from the Punjab area of Pakistan to Canada in the 1960's and in 1990 moved to the GTA. He has a large traditional family with two older sisters and four older brothers. Zakir had attained a Bachelor's in

Commerce and was working at a not-for-profit organization. He described himself as a Sunni Muslim who was very religious. Out of 10 he was “*a solid 8*”.

Zameer is an 18 year-old Canadian born male of Pakistani descent. His parents and one of his siblings migrated from Pakistan, while his other sibling was born in Dubai. Zameer has a brother and sister, his brother passed away at a young age. Even though Zameer was only 5 years old at the time, he still has memories of the traumatic event. He had recently completed high school and was in his first year of undergraduate studies. With respect to religion, he said that he is “*now at a 5*” on a scale of 1 to 10. Zameer attributed his decrease in religiosity to his education and exposure to a multicultural society.

Zohaib is a 25 year-old Canadian citizen and has resided here for 17 years. He moved from a small village in the Punjab area of Pakistan to Quebec with his family at the age of 8. He was the youngest of six siblings and had four older brothers and an older sister. Zohaib moved to the GTA after living in Quebec for three years. He had attained a Bachelor’s in Criminology and was in the process of completing a Bachelor’s in Forensic Psychology. He described himself as a Sunni, Muslim who was moderately religious by choice.

Zaid was the last of the second generation males. He was 19 years old and was born in Canada, but his family had migrated from Pakistan. While Zaid was born in the Greater Toronto Area he lived in the United States and Edmonton for a brief period of time with his parents, two brothers and sister. He was the youngest in his family, attained his high school diploma and was in his second year of undergraduate studies. He described himself as an Ahmadi, Muslim and around a four on a scale of 1 to 10 for level

of religiosity. Zaid's level of religiosity had decreased after he began living on campus. He was more religious as a child and attributed this to his parent's strong influence over him.

Afra is a 24 year-old Canadian citizen. She migrated to Canada from a large city in Pakistan with her family at the age of four. She was the oldest of three siblings with a younger brother and sister. She had attained a Bachelor's degree and was in the process of completing her masters. She described herself as moderately religious and mentioned that her religious involvement was attributed to family pressure and how much it meant to them.

Asma is a 19 year-old Canadian citizen from Pakistan. She came to Canada at the age of two with her family 16 years ago from Karachi, Pakistan. She is the oldest of four siblings with a younger brother and two younger sisters. She had completed high school and was in her first year of college for Nursing. She took hijab and described herself as a 5 or 6 on a scale of 1 to 10. She frequently practiced her religion, but believed she could improve as she had become less religious overtime.

Aisha is a 20 year-old Canadian citizen who has resided in Canada for 13 years with her family. Her parents moved from Pakistan to Dubai where Aisha and her three older brothers were born. She was in the process of completing her Bachelor's degree and described herself as moderately religious Sunni, Muslim. She expressed a love for her religion, but said she was not a strict follower.

Aliya is a 20 year-old Canadian citizen. Aliya and her family have lived in Canada for 16 years. She migrated from Pakistan at the age of four and was in her third year of university pursuing a degree in Commerce. She has an older brother and younger

sister. She described herself as a Shia, Muslim and took hijab. She said she was moderately religious because she prayed and attended mosque, but was not always thinking about it.

This background information was provided to help foster an understanding of each participant's story. Although it only provided a brief snapshot of the first and second generation participants' characteristics, it attempted to give the reader some context regarding their perceptions toward sex education. Perceptions of criminalization, marginalization and stigmatization towards the revised sex education curriculum among first and second generation Canadian Pakistani Muslims are discussed in the following sections. These perceptions are presented in relation to the seven themes mentioned above, the three typologies identified in the heretical imperative and the intersection of various mediating factors.

a) Perceptions of Criminalization towards Sex Education among First Generation Deductive Participants

Among the eight first generation participants, five participants fell into the deductive category. The majority of first generation participants found that Canada was very accepting of different cultures and gave everyone the opportunity to succeed which helped to increase their sense of belonging. Furthermore, the major "mediating factors" that shaped their perceptions were high levels of self-perceived religiosity and culture, as well as gender expectations. This was made evident through Basma's statement:

The best part about living here is that you can experience so many different cultures and still feel safe. In Pakistan people who are different don't get treated the same.

However, while she found Canadian society to be more accepting, Basma, along with the other first generation participants identified a clash between their traditional beliefs and the host society. Three of the participants (Yasir, Yacoub and Basma) found that their traditional beliefs regarding modesty and collectivism regularly clashed with the Canadian society. Yacoub believed that the Canadian culture was “*too open*”. Yacoub found that his kids were being exposed to different things too quickly in Canada, he stated:

There is a time for everything, here they think if everyone knows everything it will help them, but that is not true. Everyone doesn't think the same way.

Further, Basma believed that the Canadian culture promoted a sense of individualism which did not take into account the needs of the family. Basma stated:

Here [in Canada] they tell people to make their own decisions and think about themselves, but in our culture we have to carry the family with us. We can't just think about ourselves, what about our parents and children? If we only thought about ourselves what would happen to them?

The need to consider the good of the family as well as the entire group was also expressed by Yasir, who stated:

I think it is a problem for our kids because they need to know that their decisions impact us all not just them.

While the clash identified by these participants was based around belief systems, other participants experienced a more direct clash between their beliefs and the host society. Yasin described himself as a visible Muslim and found that he experienced discrimination regularly at work. Yasin shared an example where a customer refused to let him help her because he was Muslim. The customer told Yasin:

I don't deal with your people, call someone else.

To avoid conflict, Yasin asked a co-worker to assist the customer. However, the experience left Yasin in disbelief and made him wonder whether Canadian society was in fact “*accepting*” of different cultures and belief systems. This was made evident when Yasin stated:

It's these people who make you wonder if we will ever really be accepted here.

After migrating to Canada and experiencing various clashes, these participants reaffirmed their traditional religious beliefs and rejected the secular-pluralist values found in the host society. For example, Yacoub found that he was more thankful for being born in a Muslim household as he was able to immerse himself in his religion after migrating to Canada. Yacoub stated:

I am so grateful that I was born in my family with Muslim parents, I thank god every day for this.

Yacoub and Yasin, both expressed a strong connection to their religion as it was seen as a guide to every aspect of life. In particular, Yasin was very involved with his local mosque. Yasin believed staying connected to his religious community would help keep his traditional beliefs intact, especially for his children. Yasin stated:

When my kids were younger I used to take them to the mosque every day. Even now I try, not every day, but for Jummah [Friday Prayer] I make sure my son at least goes.

Regularly taking children, especially sons, to the mosque was a theme across the deductive participants as it gave parents a safe venue to openly engage in their religion without secular-pluralist influence.

Similar sentiments were expressed by Yasir and his wife Bineen. Both Yasir and Bineen expressed a very strong connection to their religion, especially after migrating to Canada. Yasir stated:

I pray five times a day and try to attend the mosque for at least one namaz [prayer], its important here because we have to show our kids that we practice Islam. If they don't see us do it, then why will they do it?

While Yasir had resided in Canada much longer than his wife, their level of religiosity further increased when they had children. One aspect that set Bineen apart from the other deductive participants, was her choice to start wearing hijab after migrating to Canada. Bineen mentioned:

It's not that I didn't pray or read Quran there [in Pakistan]...but when you come here you just feel like you need to do more...I started taking hijab after coming here because it's part of my religion, but it also shows other people that I am Muslim and I feel that people like men are more respectful, they don't try to shake my hand right away.

Wearing a hijab helped Bineen identify her “Muslimness” to other’s in Canada. It was almost a symbolic form of decency which allowed for easier interactions with the host society. The overarching belief for parents in the deductive category was that they needed to be visibly religious to teach their children religious traditions and to “protect” them from the individualistic Canadian customs.

Further, deductive participants indicated that their sense of belonging to Pakistan and the Pakistani culture was stronger than to the secular-pluralist Canadian culture. This was also made evident by Yasin, who stated “*I live in Canada, but I am Pakistani*” and Yasir who stated “*I am a Pakistani Canadian*”. While they identified as both Pakistani and Canadian, Yasir found that he could not relate to the larger Canadian society. Yasir stated:

It is just easier to spend time with my own people because I don't have to explain things or feel like people don't understand me because I have an accent.

To help maintain his sense of belonging to Pakistan, Yasin, along with other first generation participants (Yasir, Yacoub, Bineen and Basma) implemented aspects of

cultural freezing in their homes. In his home, Yasin spoke Urdu with his family members, watched Pakistani news channels and television shows as opposed to Canadian television. He expressed that he was more concerned about “*Pakistani politics*” because that is what impacted his family back home. Even after residing in Canada for 22 years, Yasin felt that if he “*had the money and security*” he would return back to Pakistan in a heartbeat. Similar sentiments were expressed by Yacoub, who stated:

Since they [kids] were little me and my wife tried to take all three of our kids to Pakistan to visit. We felt that if they go back they will be able to speak the language better and understand our culture and religion better.

All first generation participants in this category shared feelings regarding their native language. Bineen stated:

We only speak Urdu in our house, my kids will learn English in school, but who will teach them Urdu?

Although these participants expressed a need to expose their children to their culture while residing in Canada, they indicated that when they were young their parents did not impose culture as stringently upon them and that they had low levels of communication with their parents overall, except for Basma. For Basma, communication was stronger with her mother, she stated:

I could turn to my mother for everything...I talked to my dad too, but it was not the same because I was a girl and there were things I can't talk to my dad about.

However, for most of these participants communication was limited. This was made evident when Bineen expressed that communication with her parents was often limited to discussions about school. Bineen stated:

It's not that we didn't talk, we just talked about school mostly, but that was because I was the youngest so I mostly talked to my sister.

Since she was the youngest, her parent's expectations were usually explained to her by her sister. Similar sentiments were expressed by all of the first generation participants in this category as they had stronger communication levels with their siblings than their parents. For example, Yasin stated:

My brother helped me a lot when I was younger. He would help me get out of trouble and in school...my brother was more of a father figure to me.

Yasin believed that his brother was a father figure in his home because his father had a medical condition and was unable to work. From a young age Yasin's older brother had taken control of the family's finances and provided care for his younger siblings.

For Yasir, however, it was slightly different because he was the oldest sibling. Even though Yasir lived in Canada and his family lived in Pakistan, he would support his family financially. Yasir stated:

Because I was the oldest I had to help my parents who were in Pakistan. They couldn't raise all of us alone.

Yasir also helped his siblings settle in Canada, he sponsored them and then helped ensure that they were able to receive an education and attain a good job. While the male participants expressed stronger communication with their brothers, the female participants found that their communication was stronger with their sisters. As-mentioned above, Bineen reported very strong communication levels with her older sister. Bineen's sister, like Yasin's older brother, acted as a mother figure. Even when it came to marriage, it was Bineen's sister who pushed their parents to start looking. Bineen stated:

I was in medical school, my parents were not very concerned about marriage for any of us. It was actually my sister who forced my parents to look into a potential rishta [marriage proposal], in my house we never talked about any of this.

The low levels of communication with parents was found to influence perceptions of sex education for deductive first generation participants. All participants in this category reported that they did not communicate about sensitive topics like sex education with their parents. For example, Bineen stated:

In my family we never talked about it in Pakistan. My parents never brought up anything like this....

The atmosphere in Bineen's home growing up centered on "respect for elders" and such topics were considered inappropriate to discuss with the elders in the home. Upon reflecting on her own perceptions, Bineen found that she stayed away from such topics and had negative perceptions of sex education because it was "taboo" in her home. This perception was shared by all male participants: Yasin, Yacoub, and Yasir. Overall, first generation males reported low levels of communication in the home with their parents; as a result they did not have the opportunity to discuss sex education. Yasin, Yacoub and Yasir, in order of the given names, stated:

It was not accepted in our time.

If I brought this up back then, I'm sure my parents would be very angry.

Even if they did mention it, I would leave the room...it's a respect thing.

Given the time frame in which these first generation participants were raised, sex education was definitely not the norm. Since the parents of male participants had not brought up such topics during their childhood, first generation males usually did not discuss this topic with their children. The need to stray away from such topics was also made evident through the lack of participation in dating and intimate relationships among this group. None of the participants in the first generation had experiences with intimate relationships prior to marriage. All participants, male and female found the idea of

intimate and dating relationships to be absurd during their time. This was made evident in statements provided by Yasin, Basma and Bineen. In order of the given names:

Dating during our time? It was unheard of.

We didn't even have that concept.

In my house we never talked about any of this.

For Yasin and the other first generation participants, dating relationships were “*haram*”, “*wrong*” and a “*sin*” in Islam and the Pakistani culture. Yasin explained:

I liked my wife before we were married, but I told my parents and our parents arranged everything. We never once even spent time together before marriage...After our parents talked we just agreed and got married.

Even when he had strong feelings towards an individual, it was unacceptable for him to reach out to that person. This was because participating in such relationships meant disrespecting the family. Respect for the family was a core value for these first generation participants.

Religion and respect for the family also influenced perceptions of sex education. All first generation participants mentioned concepts of “*haram*” or “*sin*” when discussing aspects of sex education. For Yacoub, Yasin, Yasir, Bineen and Basma sex education was criminal. These participants had developed criminalized perceptions of sex education in Ontario because this program did not take into account Islamic teachings and strayed away from the scientific values surrounding sex education.

One participant, Yacoub, had very strong feelings towards the sex education curriculum. Yacoub, Basma and their family actively protested the sex education curriculum with other parents in their community. Yacoub stated:

They should not learn about it until they are mature and mentally ready for that kind of information. Me and my family protested the new curriculum, my kids were in the front line with us fighting against it...

According to Yacoub, children were not ready for this type of information and they should not have to learn concepts of “homosexuality”, especially because “*this was not permitted in Islam*”. Yacoub believed that Islam was a large part of life for him and his family which had to be considered when discussing sex education. He found the education system disregarded his beliefs, as a result Yacoub had taken all three of his sons out of the sex education program and said “*I will teach them when the time comes*”. Yacoub was the only first generation male participant who was willing to teach sex education to his sons because he did not want them to attend the formal class. He went on to say:

If the children are ready to talk about pregnancy and sex, shouldn't they also be ready to drive. Why is it that you can be in grade 3 and talking about having babies, but you need to be 16 or older to drive a car? I believe giving too much information too early will confuse the children and give them permission to do the things they are learning about.

Yacoub's wife Basma shared similar sentiments. Basma stated:

There is no need for children to learn these things. In Islam saying that sex before marriage is acceptable is Haram [a sin].

For Basma, “*haram*” actions were those that were strictly prohibited in the Quran.

While Yacoub had only taken his children out of the sex education program, Bineen considered taking her children out of public school altogether because of the sex education curriculum. Bineen stated:

Me and my husband have been discussing sending our kids to Islamic school instead, some of my friends have done this. I just feel it will be easier for us later.

Bineen was different from the other first generation deductive participants because she was a doctor in Pakistan and was first exposed to sex education in medical school. Bineen stated:

I found out about it through one chapter in medical school.

However, she explained that after she read the chapter she quickly closed the book because she felt so “*embarrassed*” and did not want others to know what she was reading as a result of her culture and religion. Bineen’s education allowed her to recognize that sex education was important, as she stated:

We need it, if we never talk about it especially here how will our children learn? They see everything here.

However, she criminalized it because of her cultural and religious expectations. In the above statement, Bineen echoes Yacoub’s concerns regarding exposure in Canadian society. A common theme and concern across the first generation was that living in an open society, such as Canada meant being exposed to everything. This was concerning because parents believed their children would be more likely to engage in the actions they were exposed to. For Bineen the fact that her children would learn about pre-marital sex created fear for her. She believed:

It [pre-marital sex] is most definitely criminal according to my religion. I follow Islam so I have to agree that having sex before marriage is a crime and should be punished. My children are young now, but I don’t know what I would do if they grew up and did these kinds of things.

In this instance, learning about pre-marital sex also increased the likelihood of participating in such actions.

Ultimately, three problems were identified in the sex education curriculum by the first generation: age of students, “*how far it goes*” and lack of religious and cultural

inclusion. All first generation participants viewed age of students as the biggest problem with the new sex education curriculum. Yasir stated:

They are too young and impressionable.

First generation participants expressed a fear with respect to age and sex education. For example, Yasin believed teaching children at such a young age would influence them to participate in pre-marital sexual relations and stray away from traditional beliefs.

The second problem with the sex education revisions was “*how far it goes*”. Yasir and Bineen explained that youth do not need this much information, especially about sexual identity. In particular, Bineen believed that sex education should center on medical or scientific information instead of concepts that brought forward debates of beliefs and values.

Finally, first generation deductive participants believed that a comprehensive sex education curriculum should take into account different belief systems of religion and culture. For Canadian Pakistani Muslims, sex education is tied to both religion and culture. Yasir explained for Pakistani Muslims religion, culture and sex education “*go hand in hand*”. Similarly, Basma explained that Islam had very stringent views pertaining to sex education, where seemingly small aspects like age make a large difference. According to Basma and the other deductive participants, religion and culture could not be separated from sex because the interplay of these belief systems formed their perceptions.

b) Perceptions of Marginalization towards Sex Education among First Generation Inductive Participants

The remaining three first generation participants fell into the inductive category. All three participants came from highly educated homes, where the parents were

professors or doctors. After migrating to Canada, Bilkis, Benazir and Younus combined their traditional religious beliefs with their experiences in Canadian society. Self-perceived religiosity was perceived as seen as a guide to some aspects of life, but was not the sole factor that influenced their perceptions. Other “mediating factors” were education and attachment to the culture.

For Bilkis religion was a part of life not a way of life. This was made evident when she stated:

I pray and take hijab now, but sometimes I don't...it depends on the situation or where I am going and with who.

While Bilkis was moderately religious and chose which aspects of her religion to immerse herself in, she found that her religiosity was also influenced by her husband. She stated:

My husband practices more than I do...he goes to the masjid at least 2-3 times a day and tells me the different prayers I can do to increase my Imaan [faith]...it helps me sometimes, but my religion is private thing for me so I don't incorporate everything he tells me.

Bilkis went on to discuss how she appreciates her husband's efforts and that he helps her to “keep learning”.

Unlike Bilkis, Benazir and Younus were married and both spouses were moderately religious. Benazir stated:

I love learning about my religion since I was young, I pray five times a day and do that stuff, but I don't just go by what people are telling me. It's my religion so I have to understand.

Uncovering the history of Islam was important to Benazir and Younus. However, both partners felt that Islam was a little problematic in Canada because “people just seem to follow blindly here”. Benazir, in particular, mentioned:

My mother was an Islamic Studies professor, so me and my husband have had a chance to understand and learn the whole history and reasoning behind each rule in Islam. I think we understand context more than the other Pakistani people here. I think the people here have to follow strongly because they are scared that if they don't they will lose their traditions, but I think they forget that Islam is private and different for everyone.

For Benazir and Younus, religion was not simply about following, but understanding and evolving based on the society they lived in. Although the inductive participants also expressed a stronger sense of belonging to Pakistan than Canada, these individuals were more open to the idea of integrating than the deductive participants. For example, two participants, Benazir and Younus, differed slightly with respect to their sense of belonging. Benazir stated:

I am more Pakistani than Canadian, but that is because I have only been in Canada for about three years.

Similarly, Younus mentioned:

We are still trying to settle our family in Canada so I don't think I can say I prefer one over the other yet. I am Pakistani, but maybe after I spend more time here I will get to know the culture more.

Both, Benazir and Younus expressed that they had not had the opportunity to experience the Canadian culture yet. They found that their sense of belonging would change as they further integrated in Canadian society. However, Bilkis felt insecure about communicating with the larger Canadian society because of her accent which decreased her sense of belonging to Canada. She mentioned:

I just feel like Canadian people won't understand me, so I don't really take the time to get to know them.

While she felt insecure and sometimes tried to implement forms of cultural freezing in her home by only speaking Urdu with her children as a result of her husband's influence, Bilkis believed she needed to try and "fit in" to Canadian society to help her

children. Further, these participants reported strong levels of communication with parents, except Younus as he was male. Similar to the deductive first generation males, Younus reported low levels of communication in the home with his parents. With respect to sex education, Younus stated:

I did not even talk to my parents about who I was friends with let alone about sex...I don't think talking about this topic would be good in my house.

However, Bilkis, used to openly communicate with both of her parents. Bilkis' parents were academics and they regularly brought the children together to talk. Bilkis stated:

My father would try to sit us all down and talk to us about different things, sometimes we talked about politics or shared poetry...my father was a very good man, he liked spending time with us.

Similarly, for Benazir communication was stronger with her mother. Benazir stated:

Since my father had passed away, I only had my mother and she guided me through everything in my life. I am a doctor because of her.

Benazir's strong communication and relationship with her mother allowed her to discuss sensitive topics, such as sex education, unlike other first generation participants. Further, Benazir did not share the communication-related sentiments regarding her siblings expressed by other participants. Benazir had two brothers and she found that they could not relate to her at the same level as her mother. Benazir stated:

Of course we helped each other, but we just didn't have a lot in common. I just had a stronger relationship with my mom.

Although, Benazir expressed having an open relationship with her mother, when it came to intimate relationships the core value of respect for the family emerged as it had for the other first generation participants. This was made evident when Benazir stated:

I respected my parents a lot too and I just wasn't like that. I could never do that to them, they would feel so shameful.

Unlike the deductive participants, Bilkis, Benazir and Younus marginalized sex education. These inductive participants did not necessarily reject or accept sex education. They did, however, empirically assess the positives and negatives of the program. Younus stated:

I don't think you can say it is criminal, it's something we all need here. But, that doesn't mean we should be teaching children about it so early. There is a time for everything and the time they are learning now is too soon.

Younus did not take issue with the topics being covered in the program, he believed because his family lived in Canada this knowledge would always be useful. Younus recognized that youth would get the information about the topics covered in sex education from their peers or through the media; therefore, it was better that they attained this knowledge from the classroom as opposed to unreliable sources. One aspect that Younus disagreed with was the age that youth were exposed to the topic. Younus and his wife Benazir were unsure if they were ready to allow their son to attend sex education classes even though he recognized that his son would be exposed to this knowledge at some point.

Similar to Younus, Benazir believed sex education was very important. Benazir's acceptance of sex education stemmed from her profession, she stated:

Being a gynecologist, I see the difference sex education makes, especially for young girls. It's more than just talking about sex, youth need to know how to take care of themselves.

Unlike Bineen, the doctor in the deductive category, Benazir was well versed in sex education because she was a gynecologist. Even though she was a gynecologist, Benazir reported feelings of embarrassment and shame when discussing taboo topics like pre-

marital sex and homosexuality. Although Benazir saw the differences that sex education could make, she still had reservations when it came to her son learning about it at a young age. Benazir stated:

I don't know if I can allow my son to participate yet. It's important, but he gets influenced very easily by others and the things he hears.

This double standard was a recurring theme across these first generation participants.

Bilkis stated:

Sex education is very important, but I don't think I would let my kids receive it this early.

Similar to Younus' statements, Bilkis believed that there was an appropriate time for everything. But, when it came to her children receiving the education, Bilkis was slightly afraid that learning about sex education would lead to possibly participating in pre-marital sex. Bilkis stated:

I have faith in my kids, but there's always a slight fear. I probably would enroll them in the program because the information is important and I would rather they received it from school.

Some of Bilkis' reservations regarding the program disappeared when she realized that the other avenues from receiving sex education were less reliable.

Ultimately, the three reasons for sex education disapproval expressed by deductive participants were also found for inductive participants, but at varying degrees.

For example, Bilkis viewed age of students as too young, she stated:

I think sex education should begin after grade 7.

Further, participants believed that a comprehensive sex education curriculum should take into account different belief systems of religion and culture, and religion directly influenced perceptions of sex education. The religious influence was evident as

participants mentioned concepts of “*haram*” or “*sin*” when discussing aspects of sex education. However, this along with other factors influenced first generation participants in the deductive category more than participants in the inductive category. Inductive participants were different because they recognized the realities of youth sexuality and exposure.

c) Perceptions of Criminalization towards Sex Education among Second Generation Deductive Participants

Among the eight second generation participants, two participants fell into the deductive category of the heretical imperative. Here, the intersectionalities that played a role were high levels of self-perceived religiosity, culture, gender expectations and engagement in information technology. For these two participants, there was a stronger connection to the host society as opposed to Pakistan. Zakir was born in Canada, but had difficulty speaking his heritage language which sometimes made it difficult to connect with the heritage country. Zakir stated:

I can't speak the language fluently...so I just don't want to be judged.

Unlike Zakir, Asma had migrated to Canada from Pakistan at a very young age and her sense of belonging increased as she spent more time in the host country and became exposed to Canadian values. Asma stated:

Like I would say I am pretty Canadian, although I am Pakistani. I was brought up in Canada, I fit in more here with the people than I do over there, the way I talk, my values are more Canadian.

Since she had resided in Canada longer, she believed that she was more Canadian than Pakistani.

However, in this instance, religious traditions and practices had to be reaffirmed because exposure and participation in the host society had caused the participant to lose

their “innocence” (Berger, 1979, p.97). Second generation deductive participants, such as Zakir, believed religion was a way of life. This was made evident by the way he defined his religiosity:

I define it on how well you know about [what] Islam is and how well you take that knowledge and implement it in your life. So yeah I pray...well I try to pray 5 times a day and I try to do the compulsory things and then I try to do a little bit more of the non-compulsory things...like the fasting, the namaz [prayer], everything that is fard. So compulsory in Islam that you have to do. I do it, but then I try to do the ones that umm...that's extra. I try and go above and beyond.

Zakir believed that implementing religion in all aspects of life would help address the feelings of guilt from participating in activities deemed haram in Islam, such as dating and intimate relationships. He stated that “*Islamically*” he was:

Trying to take the steps to make it good...

In his attempt to make good, Zakir mentioned that he did not pursue a degree in finance because he considered working with interest to be haram in his religion. Further, he mentioned that religion played a role in his work environment.

I work in a very women majority workplace and in Islam you are supposed to...you try and not I guess not to check out women and try to keep your gazes down. So it's uhh...its hard”.

Zakir constantly checked and policed his behaviour to guarantee that he did not put himself in a position where his religious beliefs would come into question.

Similar sentiments were expressed by Asma, who found that exposure to the secular-pluralist society had caused her to “*become less religious overtime*”. As an example, she stated:

I thought I would never do my eye brows because you know its haram, but I did it and then I was like at least I don't drink. And I never thought I would talk to guys because they are not mehram and I am. I guess things I thought I would never do I am doing now.

For Asma, it was necessary to make amends for her lost innocence because she began to experience immense anxiety. She stated:

I wanna get back to how I was, I was very strong mentally with respect to my religion. I read Quran every day [now], memorized things and went to conferences.

However, unlike the traditional deductive individual and Zakir, Asma sought help from an external source for the anxiety she experienced (Sullivan, 2007). Asma had begun to receive counselling from a therapist, she stated:

It helps me come to terms with myself, and understand myself more. Sometimes you just need a third person to help with your feelings.

Ultimately, Asma found that she could not turn to internal sources, such as family or friends to help cope with the religious turmoil because she stated:

They think if you are depressed or have anxiety you are just crazy.

Although both Asma and Zakir indicated that communication was not strong between them and their parents, for Zakir this aspect was pretty much non-existent. Zakir stated:

Because I was younger my brothers and sisters pretty much raised me.

However, if Zakir wanted to discuss more taboo topics, such as sex, he would turn to the internet or peers out of respect for his elders. Whereas Asma was the oldest in her home. Since she was the oldest her parents found that if they left her in-charge of communicating with her two younger sisters it would be more helpful. Since Asma was given the responsibility of taking care of her younger siblings she did not have experience with dating relationships as she did not find value in such relationships and believed it was not worth her time. Asma stated:

I love my parents to much and they want me to become something so I would rather focus my energy on school.

Here, dating would divert Asma from academic achievement and hurt her parents. On the other hand, Zakir had participated in both dating and sexual relationships. Zakir mentioned that he took part in multiple “flings” or casual relationships which he defined as:

You go on like one date or uhh...you know you like make out and do things with each other and that's it.

Zakir explained that he had to justify the guilt when these feelings became overwhelming for him. Unlike Asma who did not experience intimate relationships, Zakir believed he needed to return back to his traditional beliefs and reject his intimate relationship experiences because he was straying away from God’s word and his religion.

The idea of incorporating religion in all aspects of life along with meeting family-related expectations were also found to influence perceptions of sex education for these participants. Similar to the first generation deductive participants, second generation deductive participants suggested that they held criminalized perceptions of sex education. For Zakir and Asma Islam was a guide to all aspects of life and needed to be considered in discussions of sex education. The absence of Islam in sex education and value placed on discussing pre-marital sex and different sexualities was perceived to be problematic for these participants. Zakir believed that sex education was important, but did not approve of the sex education curriculum. While he recognized that perceptions of sex education changed depending “*on what country you live, the society, and your own religion*”, for him “*it is criminal due to religion*”. Zakir very clearly expressed his

disapproval of the revised sex education curriculum because of topics, such as pre-marital sex and homosexuality. Zakir stated:

As a Muslim there is no need to discuss it [homosexuality] because it is clearly not allowed in our religion.

Zakir believed that sex education should stick to discussing “body parts” and “puberty” as opposed to controversial and taboo topics even if he was in Canada. Throughout the interview, Zakir expressed extreme discomfort every time sexuality or sexual orientation was discussed. He stated:

This topic makes me very uncomfortable, to be honest I would never address it at all.

Zakir also mentioned that sex education was an “extremely uncomfortable” topic to discuss in the home with siblings and parents. Zakir stated:

It was never brought up and it was better that way.

He felt this because he did not know how he would react if his parents did bring it up. Zakir belonged to large collectivistic traditional family, where respect for elders was key. As a result, he believed that he would not discuss sex education with his children, unless it was a male as caregiving for female children was perceived to be the responsibility of mothers.

Similar, but less extreme sentiments were expressed by Asma. Asma, like Zakir found that sex education was important especially for Muslims because it provided information about “puberty” and “hygiene”. For Asma, the non-sex related topics in sex education were more important than the sex-related topics because she could actually use and apply the information she learned to her own life. With respect to the sex and intimate relationship-related information, Asma stated:

The problem is that I am Muslim and for me sex and dating outside of marriage are haram so that information is essentially useless. I don't need to know these things until I am about to get married and even then I don't think I would go to a class for it.

Asma disapproved of the sex education curriculum because she felt it lacked inclusion of her and other's belief systems. Asma mentioned:

I don't think it is fair that we have to learn their values, but no one considers ours.

In this instance, Asma believed that the sex education revisions were unjust and did not account for Canada's diverse population. The lack of religious and cultural inclusion as well as age of students were reported to be the two main problems with the revised sex education curriculum. Zakir stated:

They [students] are not going to understand anything and they will tell their friends about the stuff they learned in sex ed. and laugh about it...like we did when we were little, expect we were still older than the kids nowadays.

Zakir went on to mention he does not remember a single thing from sex education, other than the times he made fun of the program with his friends. In addition to this, Zakir found that he rejected sex education because of his culture and religion. Similarly, Asma stated that the culture prevented her from openly engaging in and having positive views of sex education. Asma's family believed sex education would create problems in her home, while Asma believed it would create unnecessary suspicions. Asma found that if she asked her parents about this topic they would automatically assume that she was planning to participate in such actions; as a result she thought it was "*best to avoid it all together*".

For these participants, discussing sex education with their friends and peers was most comfortable. Zakir and Asma found that they were more comfortable and open to

learning with their friends because they did not have to maintain respect and their conversations were not as serious. In addition to friends, these participants turned to the web and information technology for any information they needed about sex education.

Zakir, in particular, stated:

I feel like in today's day and age you just google everything. So if you wanna know more about diseases you just google it. You don't really need a class anymore.

Zakir, along with most second generation participants, was a strong believer in technology, he repeatedly mentioned that sex education classes should not exist anymore because more adequate information could be found online.

d) Perceptions of Marginalization towards Sex Education among Second Generation Inductive Participants

The second generation (four) participants who fell into the inductive category had “mediating factors”, like, moderate levels of self-perceived religiosity and engagement in culture, as well as education and engagement in information technology. The inductive participants integrated their traditional religious beliefs with secular-pluralist views after experiencing both (Berger, 1979). Participants viewed Islam as a part of life and took part in religious practices, such as prayer, but religious beliefs did not dictate their lives. For example, Aliya stated:

I go to mosque not regularly, but I do though. I fast I do those things, but I'm also not always thinking about it.

Aliya depicted the integration of religious beliefs and secular-pluralist views when she discussed her “*open-minded[ness]*”. She attributed this to her education and exposure to a secular-pluralist environment, “*it's probably more about how I grew up or something*”.

Similarly, Aisha expressed a love for Islam, but did not apply it in every decision.

Aisha stated:

Okay so I'm not a strict follower, I love my religion. My religion is very pure. I feel like I am not as religious as I want to be, like I go towards religion when my family is guiding me. Like obviously without my parents guiding me I would not be following this religion just because they tell me you need to do this and not do this. So with their help I have been up to date with that.

Unlike the other participants, Aisha recognized the role her parents played in helping her maintain her religiosity. She took the knowledge attained from her parents and integrated it with her experiences in the secular-pluralist society to produce a “live and let live” ideology where religion was a personal matter.

Both Zameer and Zohaib, had similar sentiments with to respect religious practices. Zohaib stated:

I try to pray five times a day, pray Friday prayers and... I read Quran maybe once a week.

Unlike the first generation inductive participants, Zohaib later discussed how he felt that religion in Canada is “better” in comparison to Pakistan because individuals have the opportunity to understand Islam more. He found that his traditional religious beliefs combined with the accepting nature of Canadian culture and his educational achievements allowed him to be more “accepting” and “open-minded”. Zohaib stated:

I'm more rational now and I think before I judge others.

Zameer also took part in religious practices “I am fasting and I attend mosque at times”. Prior to starting university, Zameer had gone on a religious pilgrimage to Madina where he found that he became more religious, however, once he started attending university his religiosity actually decreased. Zameer stated:

Because of school in general, studies like science...uhm...I'm losing faith in Islam in general.

Zameer, unlike the other inductive individuals, was in the process of aligning his experiences with his traditional beliefs. He identified a stronger connection to the host society for as he was born in Canada, and found difficulty speaking his heritage language which sometimes made it difficult to connect with the heritage country. Where Zameer differed, however, was in terms of his visits to the heritage country and the environment of the host country. Zameer visited Pakistan more frequently than the other second generation Canadian participants, such as Zaid or Zakir. He also lived in a primarily South Asian area of the GTA. Although, Zameer stated “*I am Canadian*” he found that he:

Would want to spend time with more of my Pakistani fellows, than the Canadians...it feels weird. Like my first trip outside of the GTA in general was at Muskoka and I seen were white people or Canadian people and uhh...it felt uncomfortable for me to just roam around with more White skin people...yeah white skin people that sounds better...than roaming around here with your fellow Pakistani people. Well in general South Asian people in general...I feel much more comfortable... and I feel like when roaming around with other white skin Canadians or others...they will think bad of me because terrorism...

Whether Zameer felt that he belonged or not depended on how diverse his environment was at the time. Ultimately, he believed he belonged in Canada as long as he was around South Asians this was irrespective of his education and language fluency.

The strong sense of belonging to the host country was also found in the inductive participants who had migrated to Canada. Zohaib, Aisha and Aliya had migrated to Canada from Pakistan at a very young age and their sense of belonging increased as they spent more time in the host country and became exposed. Since these participants had

resided in Canada longer, they believed they were more Canadian than Pakistani, except in Aliya's case.

Such as the process of in-betweenness expressed by Zameer, for Aliya being born in Pakistan and growing up in Canada created a very unique situation where she felt that she did not belong to either society. The balancing of the host and heritage society made Aliya feel that she was in-between states as opposed to identifying with one society over the other. This was made evident when Aliya stated:

You know what honestly I feel like I don't have a sense of belonging anywhere because like I feel like I don't fully fully fit in here and I don't fully fit in Pakistan so I'm just kind of stuck right in the middle I don't know where I go...

Aliya and Zameer's feelings of in-betweenness were further exacerbated through experiences of a clash between their traditional beliefs and the host society which influenced their sense of belonging. Zameer found that his religion and culture clashed a lot with the larger Canadian society. He believed that he could not hang out with "white Canadians" because their culture promoted "drinking beer and sex outside of marriage" which he found to be strictly prohibited in his religion. As a result Zameer preferred to only spend time with his South Asian community and stayed away from Canadian cities where the majority of people were White, such as "Muskoka or Peterborough".

Aliya also experienced a clash between her religion and the host society. However, in Aliya's case the clash was directly related to her hijab and left her feeling as if she did not fit into either the host or heritage society. Aliya was singled out in class because she wore a hijab, a teacher used her as an example and stated:

Aliya is a terrorist and has a bomb strapped to her right now.

This incident left Aliya in a state of disbelief and made it difficult for her to fit-in with other students in the school. She began to question her religious identity because she felt that being “*visibly Muslim*” meant that she was going to be labelled as a “*terrorist*”.

Feelings of in-betweenness were also found in perceptions of sex education for second generation inductive participants. The majority (four) of second generation participants held perceptions that marginalized sex education. Aliya, Aisha, Zameer and Zohaib found sex education to be important, but did not explicitly accept or reject the program. All four participants were fairly indecisive and believed that the value of sex education changed based on the person receiving the information. For example, Aliya had received both formal and religious versions of sex education, but when asked the age at which she thought sex education should begin, she stated:

I don't know like for some people maybe earlier based on the situation and how they were raised and the situations that they've been in like some people just go through it earlier, but for people like me or people who have been raised to think marriage...or like who have been raised to think that no sex before marriage I feel like maybe later for them because it's not like an immediate concern.

While she thought sex education topics were valuable for other people, it was not valuable for her because she was not interested in pursuing pre-marital relationships. She later changed her answer and expressed that sex education should not occur until after youth experience puberty.

All first generation participants reported that they were most comfortable discussing sex education with their friends and peers, and that they did not pay attention in sex education classes. This was made evident by Zohaib, who stated:

Yeah it's like a joking conversation, but at the same time we understand and try to gain some knowledge about it. But, we mostly joke around like we joke around, but we also understand what's being said.

Male participants found that they were more comfortable and open to learning with their friends because they did not have to maintain respect and their conversations were not as serious.

As mentioned above, majority of the participants did not find these classes to be helpful for them. Only one participant, Aisha, reported paying attention in sex education classes. Aisha stated that she paid attention because she “*wanted to enter the medical field*” and felt “*this information would be helpful in the future*”. Aisha’s acceptance could also stem from her from the strong communication levels with her parents. She stated:

My parents have always had an open communication policy with me and my brothers...I tell them everything, especially my mom...it’s just easier that way.

Further, Aisha was the only female sibling and her older brothers were very protective of her. Aisha and her family regularly addressed different topics in the home, such as dating relationships, to ensure that the children were informed about the “*right, Islamic way*”. However, both of the male participants along with Aliya found it was not worth their time to pay attention because information did not apply to them. Aliya stated:

It is just not important to me right now, I don’t think I need this.

For these participants, the internet and technology was reported to be the strongest of the external influencer on sex education perceptions. All of the participants mentioned that they turned to the web for any information they needed about sex education. Zameer stated:

I never listened in class, I would just go look up whatever I needed to online.

The convenience and comfort provided by the internet was preferred by male participants in particular because they were not comfortable asking teachers or parents. Female

participants also used the internet as a source of sex education information, but they believed that the internet could be difficult to navigate because:

You don't know what's real or fake...so you could end up with the wrong information if you are not critical of what is out there (Aisha).

It was also interesting to note that one of the problems with the sex education curriculum according to participants in this category was the inclusion of intimate pre-marital relationships, even though they participated in them, except Zameer. Zameer, had no experience with dating relationships and did not find value in pre-marital relationships because it was not worth his time. Similar to Asma in the deductive category, there were two primary reasons that led Zameer to reject dating relationships: respect for his parents and the need to get good grades. This was made evident when Zameer stated:

I would usually dismiss it because it's a waste of time and I could be getting good marks instead.

He went on to mention that his parents had made it clear to him that he would be having an arranged marriage because his parents wanted “a girl from Pakistan” as “they could relate to her more”.

Zameer stated:

I have accepted that [because it] made life easier, especially in my home.

Zameer believed dating would hurt his parents. Unlike Zameer, Aliya, Aisha and Zohaib had experience with dating relationships and flings. Aliya had a six month online relationship with a family friend from the United States. She connected with the individual during her family visits to the U.S. and they began messaging one another through social media. Although the relationship only took place online and no physical

contact was made, Aliya felt as if she was consumed by guilt. For example, she would think to herself:

Wow, my parents wouldn't approve of this, why am I doing this? I shouldn't be doing this...

The feelings of guilt caused Aliya to end the relationship. Whereas Aisha had participated in two dating relationships, but had ended both relationships due to feelings of guilt and because she thought she was “wasting” her time. Aisha found that as she continued her schooling she became busier overtime and could not afford to continue wasting time justifying her feelings of guilt.

The second problem with the sex education curriculum for these inductive participants was the age at which sex education should begin. According to Aliya:

If you think about it we live in Canada so learning about sexual orientations is important because that is what we are exposed to.

Aisha and Zohaib expressed similar thoughts. Aisha and Zohaib, in order of the given names, stated:

Knowledge, any knowledge is power regardless of age.

It's just knowledge and you can never have too much knowledge.

Zohaib believed that having the knowledge was valuable because “you don't know when you will need it”. But, Zohaib also stated:

I just don't know if it's useful until after kids go through puberty... The best age is around puberty like 12.

He believed that puberty was a good time because that's when students experience “hormonal changes” and require the most guidance. Ultimately, it was up to the individual to decide how much they would immerse themselves into sex education.

The final problem for these second generation participants was the lack of inclusion of their culture and religion in the revised sex education curriculum. For these participants sex education goes beyond the classroom, Aliya and Aisha assert that sex education is pertinent to their Muslim identity and the lack of inclusion means they had to seek the knowledge from other sources, such as, Islamic schools and the internet. Culturally, Aliya stated:

It's all about izzat [respect].

Aliya found that she developed negative perceptions towards sex education because her family, especially her dad, constantly reminded her to practice modesty. Further, Aliya stated:

The only time my dad and I talked is if it's about school and if he wants to yell at me it's...it's just it's like not something that happens.

While she had stronger communication levels with her mother, there was still an air of respect that she had to maintain and was unable to discuss topics such as dating. For Aliya and her family, sex education was not considered modest unless it was in a gender-segregated class with a female teacher. Male second generation participants expressed similar concerns.

Zameer described a situation where he asked his family members their opinions regarding the revised sex education curriculum. The immediate response for his parents was “*why do you care?*” and they became skeptical of Zameer’s intentions. From this experience Zameer learned that he would have to “*restrict*” his “*curiosity*”.

Unlike, the other participants who believed religion and culture worked together to influence perceptions of sex education, Zohaib believed it was just the culture. Zohaib stated:

That's not because of my religion that's because of my culture. My Religion doesn't tell you that thing, but the culture.

For Zohaib, his religion promoted the idea of learning about new things for the sake of attaining knowledge. But, the culture created a “*restrictive*” environment where certain types of knowledge (e.g., homosexuality, transgender and pre-marital sex) was labelled “*taboo*” and immodest.

Overall, Zohaib and Zameer found that sex education was an “*extremely uncomfortable*” topic to discuss in the home with siblings and parents. Both participants also mentioned that they were the youngest in their homes so it would not be appropriate if they brought it up. According to Zameer, there were very few topics that he could communicate with his parents about. He stated that they usually just told him:

You shouldn't do this, or you shouldn't do that because of Islamic code.

Respect for elders was often found to be a barrier to open communication for these participants. Zohaib did not share the communication related sentiments expressed by the other participants because he lived in a very large joint family, with 17 family members which made internal communication very difficult. Zohaib differed slightly from Zameer because he belonged to a larger collectivistic traditional family, where respect for elders was key. As a result, both male participants believed that they would not discuss sex education with their children, unless it was a male.

e) Perceptions of Stigmatization towards Sex Education among Second Generation Reductive Participants

Finally, only two second generation participants fell into the reductive typology. Their key “mediating factors” were low levels of self-perceived religiosity, higher level of education, and engagement in information technology. These participants reported a

process of cognitive bargaining, where they did not completely reject the traditional beliefs, but modified them to fit their needs (Berger, 1979). The first participant, Zaid, stated:

Growing up I was a lot more religious...I practiced it because like my parents practiced it.

For Zaid living on campus for school had allowed him to explore his own beliefs without parental influence. He had drastically reduced the time he spent praying to “*a couple of times a week*”, but he continued to carry traditional religious beliefs about sexuality to help him stay connected to the religion in hopes that when he returned to living at home he could begin to reconnect with his religiosity.

Like Zaid, Afra also lived on campus for school and found that the freedom of living alone gave her the opportunity to “*explore my religion on my own*”. For Afra, however, residing in Canada for a long period of time had led her to be “*more accepting about things in general*”. She found that the exposure to Canadian society allowed her to be:

Religious with respect to somethings and less religious with respect to others.

She used the example of fasting during Ramadan, wherein she did not pray five times a day, but tried to fast for 30 days to keep her religiosity intact.

Further, both participants expressed a stronger sense of belonging to the host society than Pakistan. Zaid was born in Canada and had difficulty speaking his heritage language, Urdu. Similar to the other Canadian born second generation participants, Zaid found it difficult to connect with the heritage country due to language-related limitations. Zaid stated:

I prefer to communicate in English more often. [Because] I can't speak Urdu...it's hard.

Afra, however, had migrated to Canada from Pakistan at a very young age and her sense of belonging increased as she spent more time in the host country and became exposed to:

The more Canadian way of doing things.

Her strong sense of belonging was made even more evident when Afra stated:

I prefer the Canadian way, I feel like I've found a balance between the two. I started schooling here since I was four. If someone was to ask me where I was from I would say Canada first.

Starting school in Canada at a young age along with residing longer in Canada than Pakistan were the top reasons for a strong sense of belonging among immigrant second generation participants.

Additionally, the exposure to Canadian values through schooling led these participants to take part in intimate relationships. Zaid, had some experience with dating relationships. However, Zaid expressed that he ended his relationships due to feelings of guilt and because he thought he was “wasting” his time.

Contrarily, Afra had participated in both dating and sexual relationships, which was made evident when she stated:

A fling is when you meet somebody you hang out a few times, you hook-up and then after a few weeks you kind of move on. It's like short sweet bursts of fun.

These were very short term casual relationships where the primary goal was physical intimacy. After participating in these short term sexual relationships, Afra explained that she had to justify the feelings of guilt. Afra stated:

When I would get home the guilt would hit, and then to get over the guilt you would do it again and then I desensitized myself towards the guilt.

The feelings of guilt eventually became overwhelming for Afra. She found that after indulging in these intimate relationships she was “*done with dating for now*” and would try return back to their traditional beliefs to overcome guilt. Afra stated:

I'm at a point where I don't want to date people. I told them [my parents] if they know people I am down to meet them.

Compared to other second generation participants, Afra expressed strong communication with their parents. Afra stated “*My parents are more of a support system*”, she could turn to them if she was facing a hardship.

Although communication was strong for Afra, this aspect was non-existent for Zaid. This, however, may be attributed to the fact that he was the youngest in his home and he primarily relied on his older siblings to guide him. Zaid believed that he and his parents did not communicate as openly:

Because they [parents] are older now too so they don't have the same level of energy.

For Zaid it was just easier for his parents to rely on his siblings to provide him with any information he required. Further, Zaid believed:

If I hear something from my sister or second oldest brother I am more likely to listen to them.

Zaid was particularly reliant on his siblings, his siblings especially his second oldest brother taught him how to balance both cultures and religion. Unlike Zaid, Afra was the oldest in her family and because of this she stated:

I had the period and sex talk with my sister. I think my sister is closer to me and I think my mom thinks it will be better coming from me.

These communication related aspects were found to influence perceptions of sex education for the reductive second generation participants. For example, Afra did not receive sex education in public school because her parents:

Wanted to shield [her] from something that [she] was too young for.

Although, Afra's parents shielded her from sex education, they encouraged her little brother to attend the program because "It was okay for him to know". Afra's family held a few gendered biases which impacted her perceptions of sex education. Afra believed that if she required knowledge, it was her own responsibility to attain it, whereas her parents would help her brother attain it. In this instance, both Afra and Zaid expressed that they were most comfortable discussing and attaining sex education from external factors such as peers, the internet and school. For example, Afra mentioned:

I have a friend who I can talk to about these things. I think she understands more and doesn't judge me.

Overall, these reductive participants held perceptions that stigmatized sex education. Afra and Zaid, stigmatized aspects of sex education and labelled some aspects as deviant. Both participants believed sex education was important and valuable for youth. Reductive participants indicated that sex education was acceptable because their exposure to the host society had made them more "open-minded". Afra stated:

I'm quite comfortable with it now because I feel like it's an uncomfortable topic so there is no need to make it more uncomfortable.

Prior to experiencing the host society, Afra found that she was very uncomfortable with such topics because they had been ignored or disregarded in her home. Similarly, in terms of his family Zaid stated:

I don't know with my parents, since I was the last child my parents didn't teach me much about it...it's just weird.

While in his family the topic of sex education was hush-hush, his ability to attain the knowledge from the host society led him to be more accepting of sex education in general. Accepting some aspects while rejecting other's allowed, both Afra and Zaid to assimilate to the Canadian view of sex education and avoid feelings of guilt for accepting concepts like pre-marital sex. For example, Afra stated:

Sex before marriage is not criminal. It is a personal decision, albeit it is considered prohibited in Islam, but even religion is considered a personal practice. The only time I think sex before marriage would be criminal is any form of sexual contact that is initiated without consent. If someone does not explicitly say yes, it is considered to be non-consensual and thus in that case would be criminal.

While Afra recognized that pre-marital sex was haram in Islam, she perceived such matters to be personal. She went on to explain that pre-marital sex should not be viewed as wrong because it occurs in different circumstances for different people. Her belief that pre-marital sex should not be considered wrong, may stem from her participation in pre-marital sexual relationships and a need to justify her actions. The cognitive bargaining process took place for Afra in developing perceptions towards sex education because she labelled the actions she did not participate in as deviant or wrong, but the actions she did participate in she tried to justify. The aspects of sex education she labelled as deviant were homosexuality and sexual orientations. Labelling homosexuality as deviant allowed Afra to stay connected to her traditional beliefs.

Similar labels were applied by Zaid, who did not find that dating and intimate relationship discussions to be deviant. He did, however, express that he considered homosexuality to be wrong and refused to participate in conversations related to it. Zaid stated:

I'm kind of against it, but I guess like I have to understand it.

Since he lived in Canada, Zaid believed he had to be understanding, this did not mean he had to accept it. For both Zaid and Afra, it was easier to label homosexuality as deviant than pre-marital sex because doing so would overwhelm them with feelings of guilt.

Similar to both the first and second generation participants, reductive second generation participants identified one major problem with the revised sex education curriculum which was the lack of religious and cultural inclusion. This problem was best explained by Afra, who believed sex education needs to be more inclusive. Afra stated:

I feel that they should cater it to the students from different cultures and religions. You have a lot of cultures that don't see sex the same way that it is viewed in western society and there needs to be something in place to address those differences because they are there, you can't just cookie cut a program like sex education. It's like cutting squares into every student, this is how you should think. We say we have the freedom of religion, but we are forcing people to look at sex education the way it is done in Canadian society.

What is most interesting in Afra's statement is the idea of "cookie cutting" a program like sex education. It is interesting because the revised sex education curriculum has been presented as "comprehensive" and claims to be "inclusive" to meet the needs of Canada's diverse population. But, it is clear that Afra's statement expresses the exact opposite. Ultimately, Afra as well as the other participants believe sex education intertwines with their Pakistani culture and Islamic religion.

Overall, the results show clear variations in perceptions toward sex education. While the majority of participants by generation fell into the deductive and inductive typologies of the Heretical Imperative, there were a few that were characterized by the reductive typology. Mediating factors, such as gender expectations, generation, time of immigration, culture and self-perceived religiosity, education and information technology

(IT) played a critical role in shaping their perceptions towards the revised sex education curriculum. The next chapter, discussion and conclusion, highlights and provides some conclusive social explanations of these generational outcomes pertaining to perceptions toward sex education.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion

This thesis explored perceptions of the newly revised sex education strand of the Health and Physical Education Curriculum in Ontario among two generations of Canadian Pakistani Muslims. The findings indicated that both generational outcomes and perceptions were mediated by gender expectations, generation, time of immigration, culture and self-perceived religiosity, education and information technology (IT) usage. Three possible outcomes were identified in this research: deductive suggesting the criminalization of sex education, inductive pointing to marginalization of sex education, and reductive indicating stigmatization of sex education. This discussion provides an explanation and analysis of why the results and outcomes are the way they are. To

conclude, the limitations in the current analysis and directions for future research are presented.

Consistent with previous literature, first generation immigrants often held traditional cultural and religious beliefs and tried to preserve these beliefs in their home (Couture, 2011; Wakil et al., 1981; Zaidi & Shuraydi, 2002). Deductive individuals are a representation of these first generation immigrants as they reaffirm their traditional beliefs after migration and exposure to modern society (Berger, 1979). For these participants, the Canadian secular-pluralist society was described as too open and promoted a sense of individualism instead of collectivistic attitudes where family honour needed to be protected. Research has found that these parents are afraid that their children will adapt to the individualistic ideologies in Canada and disregard their family's reputation in the community (Langrial et al., 2014; Ihwani et al., 2017; Sanjakdar, 2009). To avoid judgement and possible backlash from the community and extended family members, the deductive first generation immigrants feel that they must at least freeze their traditional culture in their home (Cense, 2014; Berger, 1979; Wakil et al., 1981). In the minds of these participants, if their children are exposed to their culture in the home, they will reject larger Canadian values and continue to project a positive image of the family in the community. To preserve the traditions in the home, deductive parents provided examples, such as speaking only their native language, increased involvement and visits to the local mosque, watching Pakistani television, and regularly visiting their home country. It was clear that deductive first generation participants believed regularly interacting and socializing with the community would help preserve their traditions a

finding that was consistent with research by Berger (1967), Talbani and Hasanali (2000), Jibeen (2011), Jibeen and Khalid (2010), Siddique (1977), and Sullivan, (2007).

Further, it was these first generation Canadian Pakistani Muslim participants who perceived the newly revised sex education curriculum to be criminal because they felt that any sex education prior to marriage, without regard for Islamic teachings, is “religiously prohibited” and haram outside of medical grounds (Bennett, 2007, p. 375; Hamzaha & Oliver, 2010; Potluri et al., 2017). In this respect, haram actions are those that are criminal and punishable within the Quranic text (Potluri et al., 2017). Accordingly, participants from this category found that sex education was criminal because it did not solely centre on medical or scientific concepts of sex, incorporated concepts deemed haram in Islam (i.e., homosexuality and pre-marital sex), did not encompass Islamic teachings of sex, decency and modesty, and occurred too early for youth who did not require such knowledge. As a result, these participants have either excused their children from learning sex education in public schools or are debating sending their children to private Islamic schools instead of public school. This result was consistent with the findings of previous literature examining the revised sex education curriculum which indicated that enrollment in Ontario public schools had dropped due to sex education protests (Bialystok & Wright, 2017).

For first generation deductive participants, the reasons for their opposition to the sex education curriculum is similar to their reasons for preserving their traditional belief systems in their home: fear and in-part ignorance. Two types of fear existed towards sex education: sex education fostered threats to social order and family honour in the community, and learning often meant generating and participating in sexual desires. Fear

of gossip in the community and threats to social order, as well as the fear that youth would act on sexual desires after learning sex education was also consistent with findings from other researchers, such as Orgocka (2004), Ihwani et al. (2017), and Sanjakdar (2009). Research by Orgocka (2004) indicated that Muslim parents did not provide sex education to their daughters because they feared their daughters would “end up with a boyfriend or experiment [with sex]” (p. 259). As a result, the daughters of these Muslim parents did not provide sex education to the next generation of daughters due to this ongoing fear and out of respect for elders.

With respect to the ignorance-related opposition, first generation deductive Canadian Pakistani Muslims believed their children did not need sex education because they did not participate in pre-marital sex or any activities taught in the program as they considered it to be haram and a sin. While this finding was consistent with previous literature by Sanjakdar (2009) which indicated that Australian Muslim parents felt Muslim youth did not require sex education provided by public schools, it ignored the realities of youth sexuality and exposure to sex. According to a study conducted by Smerecnik et al., (2010), Muslim youth did participate in pre-marital dating and sexual relationships regardless of its sinfulness and youth believed sex education would be valuable to them. Further, research has indicated that youth who do not receive sex education in school or at home often found other means to acquire the information, such as peers and the internet (Halstead, 1997; Kingori et al., 2016; Zain Al-Dien, 2010). For these participants, education, gender expectations, culture, information technology, and time of immigration did not play a role in forming criminalized perceptions of sex education, however, a strong sense of self-perceived religiosity did. As noted in past

scholarship, individuals who report high levels of religiosity are more likely to condemn westernized views of sex and sex education (Cila & Lalonde, 2014; Moore, Berkley-Patton & Hawes, 2013; Poulson, Bradshaw, Huff, Peebles & Hilton, 2008; Smerecnik et al., 2010; Zaidi et al, 2014).

Contrary to the traditional beliefs held by first generation deductive participants, first generation Canadian Pakistani Muslims in the inductive category formed their belief systems through empirical investigation. After migration, these participants believed it was necessary to combine their traditional belief systems with their secular-pluralist experiences in order to create a sense of belonging to Canada over time (Berger, 1979; Berry, 2005). Unlike the traditionalist first generation immigrants presented in past scholarship by Helms (2015), Lalonde et al., (2004), Wakil et al. (1981), these participants felt that understanding and evolving based on the society you lived in allowed for easier integration. Nonetheless, why were these first generation participants much more willing to integrate to the secular-pluralistic Canadian society?

Two reasons guided these participants' beliefs regarding integration. Along with their parents, these participants were highly educated and they reported stronger levels of communication within the home. Research conducted by Chaudhary and Guarnizo (2016) suggested that highly-skilled and educated Pakistani immigrants in Canada were more willing to integrate within Canadian society in comparison to those who had less education. Similarly, Bennett (2007) found that collectivistic values and communication taboos in Muslim households between generations were often exacerbated by families with lower levels of education. While these participants believed in respecting family honour and elders, this belief did not necessarily create a fear of judgement from the

community. As noted by the religious leaders and scholars in research by Helms (2015), these participants recognize that honour-related expectations are “non-Islamic and harmful to the community” (p. 176). Further, and in contrast to Orgocka’s (2004) findings, these participants described communication with their parents as open. As a result, they believed that communication with their children should also be open.

The two reasons that influenced the belief systems for first generation inductive participants also helped to foster perceptions towards sex education for these participants. First generation Canadian Pakistani Muslims in the inductive category held marginalized perceptions toward sex education in that they neither accepted it nor rejected it (Berry, 1992). They did, however, weigh the positives and negatives of this type of education. Unlike the deductive participants, the high levels of education helped to alleviate ignorance related to sex and sex education for these participants. Findings from previous research suggest that sex education helps equip individuals with knowledge, removes stigma from an otherwise taboo topic, and reduces the transmission of sexual diseases and unplanned pregnancies (Bennett, 2007; Halstead, 1977; Kingori et al., 2016; McKay, Byers, Voyer, Humphreys & Markham, 2014). Inductive participants recognized these facts, as well as the fact that regardless of their reservations regarding the age at which sex education should begin, their children could attain the knowledge from other, less reliable avenues, such as the internet and peers.

In contrast, second generation Canadian Pakistani Muslims in the deductive category often rejected the secular-pluralist values of the host society. Deductive, in this instance, represents those second generation individuals who believed their traditions had to be reaffirmed because they had lost their innocence in Canada and strayed away from

God's word (Berger, 1979; Sullivan, 2007). These participants had been exposed to the individualism promoted in Canadian society from a young age through external influencers, such as school and peers. Similar, assertions were made in research conducted by Siddique (1977) which indicated that peers often exposed Pakistani youth to the Canadian culture. However, their families were a representation of traditional and collectivistic homes where respect for elders and family honour had to be maintained and gendered biases were made evident. With respect to the idea of being "caught between two cultures" (Wakil et al., 1981, p. 940), the second generation deductive participants had to make a choice where they would ultimately take on the traditional values (Berry, 1997; Berry et al., 2006; Zaidi et al., 2014). Consistent with this finding, Zaidi et al., (2014) suggest that religious youth were more likely to reinforce traditional beliefs as a result of their self-perceived religiosity. In this case, accepting traditional values was easier because it helped to alleviate some feelings of guilt that had fostered from participating in activities deemed appropriate in the host society, such as, talking to members of the opposite sex, dating, or threading one's eyebrows.

Moreover, it was the second generation deductive participants who perceived the newly revised sex education curriculum to be criminal. These participants perceived sex education as criminal because they felt that sex education should focus on biological aspects (i.e., puberty or menstruation). Additionally, they felt that sex education lacked the inclusion of different belief systems and promoted discussions about haram concepts (i.e., homosexuality and pre-marital sex) (Halstead, 1997; Sanjakdar, 2009; Zain Al-Dien, 2010). As a result, these participants did not pay attention in any of their sex education classes and would acquire the information as they needed it throughout life from different

channels, such as peers and information technology. Similar findings were reported in research conducted by Zain Al-Dien (2010) and Kingori et al. (2016). According to the research conducted by Kingori et al. (2016), refugee Somali youth were able to independently attain sex education information through outside sources, such as the internet, as it was more convenient for them. Further, these participants indicated that in the future, they would not allow their children to receive sex education as they believed this was something their parents would have never wanted for them even though they did receive it. Essentially, sex education had led second generation deductive participants to believe they lacked agency in that they were forced to learn host society values with no regard for their own beliefs and this could not continue for their future generations. Similarly in a study by Zain Al-Dien (2010), Muslim youth in Canada found that sex education marginalized their experiences by presuming that they participated in sexual activities and disregarding their religious beliefs. Two reasons led the charge against sex education for these second generation deductive participants: strong levels of self-perceived religiosity and the convenience provided by information technology.

The second generation deductive participants either identified a strong belief in their religion or would like to develop a stronger connection to their religion. To develop or maintain a strong connection, participants believed that they had to integrate religion into every aspect of life and constantly express their rejection of haram concepts, such as homosexuality and pre-marital sex. In addition, sex education was perceived to be an inconvenience, which created more harm than good and in the modern society much more convenient avenues existed for acquiring such knowledge. Participants indicated that they did not and could not discuss sex education openly with their family because it

created unnecessary suspicions about participation in sex and threatened family honour (Assanand et al., 1990; Basit 1997; Marcotte, 2015). A similar finding was indicated in a study conducted by Marcotte (2015) where participants reported that even being suspected of participating in sexual activities could have terrible consequences, such as shame for the family or “ostracism” and sometimes even violence (p.70). To avoid these potential consequences, the internet allowed these participants to access the types of knowledge they needed at different stages in their life.

Second generation inductive participants held contradicting belief systems from deductive participants. For second generation Canadian Pakistani Muslims in the inductive category religion and tradition were guides to certain aspects of life instead of rules that were set in stone (Berger, 1979). These participants attempted to integrate the traditional beliefs taught to them through internal and external influencers, such as parents, Islamic schooling, extended family, siblings and peers, with secular-pluralist beliefs after experiencing both (Berry et al., 2006; Lalonde et al., 2004). In this instance, being caught between two cultures defined the social standing of these participants. Here, youth had experienced immense difficulty balancing their traditional beliefs with the host society values even though they were trying to integrate the two diverging belief systems (Cense, 2014; Lalonde et al., 2004; Meldrum, Liamputtong & Wollersheim, 2014; Zaidi et al., 2014). Nevertheless, why did these participants experience more difficulty in integration?

According to Lalonde et al. (2004), it is not surprising that these second generation participants face difficulty integrating as they are attempting to satisfy both their traditional expectations and host society values. Unlike the second generation

deductive participants who found it easier to just maintain traditional beliefs, the inductive participants found that integration was much more realistic given the open environment of the host society. In the home, participants were taught to respect elders and others, focus on education, but to restrict curiosity with respect to sex education, and practice modesty a finding that was consistent in research conducted by Assanand et al., (1990), Dialmy (2010), Hennink et al. (2005), and Vandello and Cohen (2003). In the host society, participants were taught to respect everyone and openly engage in all discussions regardless of modesty (Wong et al., 2017; Bialystok & Wright, 2017). Although both belief systems ultimately taught respect, the respect taught in the host society was found to diminish when direct or indirect forms of discrimination was experienced (Berry et al., 1989). Compared to the other outcomes, the second generation inductive participants faced more direct and indirect forms of discrimination as a result of their visible Muslim identity. These experiences made integration difficult and forced some participants to question where they truly belonged. Berry and colleagues (1997; 1989) have consistently found that facing discrimination creates displacement among youth, especially as they are left feeling that the host society has rejected them. This finding is consistent with research on liminality which suggests that the individual is left in-between two states (Borg & Söderlund, 2015; Turner, 1967). These feelings of in-betweenness also manifested in perceptions towards sex education.

Inductive individuals from the second generation held marginalized perceptions towards sex education where they found it was both necessary and unnecessary at the same time. For these individuals, sex education was important because youth participated in dating and sexual relationships at varying ages regardless of their belief systems. The

participation in such actions meant that youth needed to be equipped with adequate knowledge, but this knowledge required corroboration, especially from Muslim parents as feelings of guilt and shame needed to be avoided. The need for Muslim parents as providers and corroborates of sex education is a consistent finding across sex education literature by Hamzeh and Oliver (2010), Kingori et al. (2016), Meldrum et al. (2014), Orgocka (2004), Sanjakdar (2009), and Zain Al-Dien (2010). While they recognized that parents needed to verify sex education lessons, participants would not verify their knowledge with their parents because they felt it was a waste of time and disrespectful for their elders. Further, sex education was found unnecessary and biased in instances where it could not be religiously or culturally corroborated and the youth were too young to receive it (Wong et al., 2017; Zain Al-Dien, 2010). Similarly to the inductive first generation participants, the second generation recognized the realities of youth sexuality and the fact that regardless of restrictions, sex-related knowledge was available from other avenues and beneficial to youth (Bleakley et al., 2006; Smylie et al., 2008; Kohler et al., 2008).

The final and most expected outcome for second generation Canadian Pakistani Muslims was reductive, indicating stigmatization of sex education. Reductive individuals are a representation of those second generation youth who have come to reject their traditional beliefs and accept host society values (Berger, 1979; Hull, 2000; Libin, 2006). However, these individuals do not reject all traditions instead they pick and choose those that they participate in as acceptable and those they do not participate in as unacceptable. This process is referred to as cognitive bargaining where individuals accept and reject traditions based on feelings of guilt or shame (Berger, 1979). For example, youth will

date and have pre-marital sex, but condemn homosexuality because it is not permissible in their religion. Mosquera et al. (2002) assert that these individuals threaten or diminish the family's reputation in the community as they have strayed away from core values. Further, reductive individuals are those that had faced backlash and gendered biases in the community as well as their families as they have participated in activities deemed unacceptable (Helms, 2015; Mosquera, Manstead & Fischer, 2002; Solberg, 2009; Talbani & Hasanali, 2000). As a result of this, this second generation identified more with Canadian values as opposed to Pakistani values. The belief in individualism and secular-pluralist values were further exacerbated for these participants as they had lived away from their community and family which allowed for development of personal beliefs void of internal influencers.

As noted above, second generation Canadian Pakistani Muslims in the reductive category held stigmatized perceptions of sex education. For these participants, sex education was incredibly important as they were exposed to all facets of the program in Canadian society regardless of age, they recognized that attaining such knowledge was difficult for individuals from traditional homes where these things are not discussed (Bennett, 2007; Marcotte, 2015). However, they labelled some aspects of sex education as deviant. These aspects were often those that reductive participants were not comfortable discussing or participating in. In this instance, levels of self-perceived religiosity were low, but education was high. As the level of education continued to increase, perceptions of sex education became more lenient and accepting. Here, knowledge was truly considered power even when some aspects were condemned or labelled as deviant.

To summarize, both the first and second generation participants did not uniformly believe one thing or another regarding sex education. However, their beliefs and perceptions towards sex education were mediated by factors, such as gender expectations, generation, time of immigration, culture and self-perceived religiosity, education and information technology (IT). While some first and second generation Canadian Pakistani Muslims perceived sex education to be criminal and took actions to avoid it (i.e., removal from sex education), others were much more open to learning about such concepts even when they had reservations. This shows that even with such a small sample size, Canadian Pakistani Muslims are a heterogeneous group where diverging perceptions were evident. Among this diverse group, one aspect was consistent: sex education in Ontario is not culturally or religiously inclusive and reform is required to meet the needs of Canada's secular-pluralist landscape. So, what does this all mean? And, why should anyone care?

Sex education is a comprehensive, ever-evolving and ever-present concept in Canada. It is a norm designed to equip youth with knowledge and resources should they require it (Bleakley et al., 2006; Smylie et al., 2008; Kohler et al., 2008); however, the newly revised curriculum that has added this knowledge has been found to threaten social order and foster conflict among and between generations for some individuals residing in Canada (Figley, 1977; Wong et al., 2017), especially for Pakistani Muslims. The revised curriculum which now includes elements of gender expression, sexting, internet use/abuse and same-sex relationship dialogue between students and teachers has led to intense debate of sex education in Ontario by many Pakistani Muslims and has been widely contested for this reason. Additionally, its failure to take into account the

social, cultural and religious realities of those receiving this type of programming has pushed some families out of the program or public schooling system, as has been made evident through this small sample of Canadian Pakistani Muslims. This is significant because the purpose of comprehensive sex education is contradictory; it represents a program that is not inclusive or socially just and creates barriers to accessing knowledge for some Canadians (Bialystok & Wright, 2017).

Cultural variance and normative sexuality with respect to conversations about sexuality across cultures and religions is huge (Hawkey et al., 2017). While countries like Pakistan engage in sexual activity, like heterosexuality, homosexuality, pornography and even premarital sex, there are major regulations and/or policing of such behaviours by formal and informal controls, like family and community (Mir, Wajid, Pearson, Khan & Masood, 2013). Upon migration to a more liberal, secular-pluralist western state, like Canada, there becomes a more formal process of embracing sexuality via comprehensive sex education curriculums in public school systems (Hawkey et al., 2017; Mir et al., 2013). The findings of this thesis clearly resonate the need to re-develop and re-think the content of the current sex education curriculum. There needs to be a push by government and public educational systems to revise the curriculum in such a way that it mobilizes knowledge that is culturally and religiously appropriate and sensitive to those families that are particularly threatened by the current curriculum. Sex education is an important tool in today's world and young people should engage in it to promote healthy sexuality; however, the learning and curriculum needs to take into account the cultural and religious diversity and be just for Pakistanis. Revisions to the current education policy will make the curriculum less marginalized, stigmatized and criminalized by these

groups. The findings of this research may help policy makers remove some of the barriers to accessing knowledge for future generations belonging to diverse backgrounds.

Limitations and Future Directions

While the purpose of this research was to explore perceptions of sex education held by Canadian Pakistani Muslims, there were prominent limitations. Due to the chosen method of analysis, qualitative, the results of this study are not generalizable. First, Loh (2013) asserts that it is not possible to generalize of results from this type of methodology as it presents a small targeted population. The sample size was small, limited to 16 participants. Therefore, this methodological approach has been questioned for its inability to present numerical findings (Polkinghorne, 2007; Loh, 2013). The lack of quantifiable information found may cause contemporary criminological researchers to ignore and discredit the findings presented through this method. Second, the population recruited for this research was not random. The research did not include the perceptions of Pakistani individuals from single-parent homes, divorced or widowed participants or those who identified as LGBTQ+. This severely limits the variety of intersecting identities that exist within this population and further brings into question the generalizability of the results. Third, the lead researcher was a Canadian Pakistani Muslim female, thus, insider and outsider bias was clearly evident within the findings. As a result of this, it is expected that some participants, especially males, found it necessary to provide socially desirable answers with respect to questions about self-perceived religiosity to try and avoid judgement or meet social expectations. The final limitation was the lack of standardization in the sample. Ideally, both generations should have belonged to the same

family unit (i.e., parents and their children) as this would have created a more standardized comparison between generations.

This research was exploratory in nature and was used to begin the discussion on perceptions towards sex education among first and second generation Canadian Pakistani Muslims. Future research should seek to incorporate larger sample sizes and a mixed-methodology to further depict the heterogeneity of this population and to uncover whether similar outcomes would emerge on a larger scale. Additionally, a life course approach should be incorporated to see the influences that the modern secular-pluralist society has on immigrant perceptions towards sex and sex education overtime. Future research should also attempt to conduct a similar study within the same single family unit. Examining the whole family to show specific differences between generations and their perceptions within the same household would be valuable to discern the dynamics between the relationship of a mother and daughter versus a father and son as well as clearly determine possible gendered biases and generational differences and/or biases. This would help establish a holistic analysis of how a family reacts to sex education and how their perceptions may vary. Lastly, perceptions without measured behaviours is incomplete. Research that explores both perceptions towards sex education and their sexual behaviours would make for an interesting future study.

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Appendix A: Comparison table of 1998-2000 and 2015 *Health and Physical Education* curriculums

	<p>Describe simple life cycles of plants and animals, including humans</p> <p>Recognize that rest, food and exercise effects growth</p> <p>Identify the major body parts by appropriate names</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identify body parts, including genitalia (e.g., penis, testicles, vagina, vulva), using correct terminology - Identify the five senses and describe how each functions - Understand and apply proper hygienic procedures for protecting their own and other's health
	<p>Describe the importance of food to the body (e.g., for energy and growth)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Outline the basic stages of human development (e.g., infant, child, adolescent, adult, older adult) and related bodily changes, and identify factors that are important for healthy growth and living throughout life
	<p>Outline the basic human and animal reproductive processes (e.g., the union of egg and sperm)</p> <p>Describe basic changes in growth and development from birth to childhood (e.g., changes to teeth, hair, feet, and height)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identify the characteristics of healthy relationships and describe ways of overcoming challenges in a relationship - Identify factors that affect physical development and/or emotional development - Describe how visible differences (e.g., skin, hair, and eye colour, facial features, etc.) and invisible differences (e.g., learning abilities, skills and talents, cultural, etc.) make each person unique, and identify ways of showing respect for differences in others
	<p>Describe the four stages of human development (infancy, childhood, adolescence, and adulthood) and identify the physical, interpersonal, and emotional changes appropriate to their current stage-</p> <p>Identify the characteristics of healthy relationships</p> <p>Identify the challenges and responsibilities in their relationships with family and friends;</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Describe the physical changes that occur in males and females at puberty and the emotional and social impacts that may result from these changes - Demonstrate an understanding of personal care needs and the application of personal hygienic practices associated with the onset of puberty
	<p>Identify strategies to deal positively with stress and pressures that result from relationships with family and friends</p> <p>Identify factors that enhance healthy relationships with friends, family, and peers</p> <p>Describe the secondary physical changes at puberty</p> <p>Describe the processes of menstruation and spermatogenesis</p> <p>Describe the increasing importance of personal hygiene following puberty</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identify the parts of the reproductive system, and describe how the body changes during puberty - Describe the processes of menstruation and spermatogenesis, and explain how these processes relate to reproduction and overall development - describe emotional and interpersonal stresses related to puberty and identify strategies that they can apply to manage stress, build resilience, and enhance their mental health and emotional wellbeing
	<p>Relate the changes at puberty to the</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identify factors that affect the development

	<p>reproductive organs and their functions Apply a problem-solving/decision-making process to address issues related to friends, peers, and family relationships-</p>	<p>of a person's self-concept (e.g., stereotypes, cultural and gender identity, support, body image, mental health, etc.) Describe how they can build confidence and lay a foundation for healthy relationships by acquiring a clearer understanding of the physical, social, and emotional changes that occur during adolescence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Make informed decisions that demonstrate respect for themselves and others and help to build healthier relationships, using a variety of living skills - Assess effects of stereotypes, including homophobia and assumptions regarding gender roles and expectations, sexual orientation, gender expression, race, ethnicity or culture, mental health, and abilities, on an individual's self-concept, social inclusion, and relationships with others, and propose appropriate ways of responding to and changing assumptions and stereotypes
	<p>Explain the male and female reproductive systems as they relate to fertilization Distinguish between the facts and myths associated with menstruation, spermatogenesis, and fertilization Identify the methods of transmission and the symptoms of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), and ways to prevent them Use effective communication skills (e.g., refusal skills, active listening) to deal with various relationships and situations Explain the term abstinence as it applies to healthy sexuality Identify sources of support with regard to issues related to healthy sexuality (e.g., parents/guardians, doctors)</p>	<p>Explain the importance of having a shared understanding with a partner about the following: delaying sexual activity until they are older; the reasons for not engaging in sexual activity; the concept of consent and how consent is communicated; and, in general, the need to communicate clearly with each other when making decisions about sexual activity in the relationship Identify common sexually transmitted infections (STIs), and describe their symptoms Identify ways of preventing STIs, including HIV, and/or unintended pregnancy, such as delaying first intercourse until a person is older and using condoms consistently Demonstrate an understanding of physical, emotional, social, and psychological factors that need to be considered when making decisions related to sexual health Explain how relationships with others and sexual health may be affected by the physical and emotional changes associated with puberty (e.g., effect of physical maturation and emotional changes on family relationships)</p>
	<p>explain the importance of abstinence as a positive choice for adolescents Identify symptoms, methods of</p>	<p>Identify and explain factors that can affect an individual's decisions about sexual activity and identify sources of support regarding sexual health</p>

	<p>transmission, prevention, and high-risk behaviours related to common STDs, HIV, and AIDS</p> <p>Identify methods used to prevent pregnancy</p> <p>Apply living skills (e.g., decision-making, assertiveness, and refusal skills) in making informed decisions, and analyse the consequences of engaging in sexual activities and using drugs</p> <p>Identify sources of support (e.g., parents/guardians, doctors) related to healthy sexuality issues</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Demonstrate an understanding of gender identity (e.g., male, female, two-spirited, transgender, transsexual, intersex), gender expression, and sexual orientation (e.g., heterosexual, gay, lesbian, bisexual), and identify factors that can help individuals of all identities and orientations develop a positive self-concept - Demonstrate an understanding of aspects of sexual health and safety, including contraception and condom use for pregnancy and STI prevention and the concept of consent - Analyze the attractions and benefits associated with being in a relationship as well as the benefits, risks, and drawbacks, for themselves and others, of relationships involving different degrees of sexual intimacy
	<p>Identify the developmental stages of sexuality throughout life;</p> <p>Describe the factors that lead to responsible sexual relationships</p> <p>Describe the relative effectiveness of methods of preventing pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases (e.g. abstinence, condoms, oral contraceptives)</p> <p>Demonstrate understanding of how to use decision-making and assertiveness skills effectively to promote healthy sexuality</p> <p>Demonstrate understanding of the pressures on teens to be sexually active</p> <p>Identify community support services related to sexual health concerns.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Describe the relative effectiveness of various methods of preventing unintended pregnancy or sexually transmitted infections (STIs), including HIV/AIDS (e.g., avoiding oral, vaginal, and anal intercourse), and identify sources of information and support - Demonstrate an understanding of factors (e.g., acceptance, stigma, culture, religion, media, stereotypes, homophobia, self-image, self-awareness) that can influence a person's understanding of their gender identity (e.g., male, female, two-spirited, transgender, transsexual, intersex) and sexual orientation and identify sources of support for all students - Demonstrate an understanding of the skills and strategies needed to build healthy social relationships - Apply their knowledge of sexual health and safety, including a strong understanding of the concept of consent and sexual limits
	<p>Describe environmental influences on sexuality (e.g., cultural, social, and media influences)</p> <p>Explain the effects (e.g., STDs, HIV/AIDS) of choices related to sexual intimacy (e.g., abstinence, using birth control)</p> <p>Identify available information and support services related to sexual health concerns</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Describe factors that influence sexual decision making (e.g., personal values, having limits and being able to communicate them, etc.), and demonstrate an understanding of how to use decision-making and communication skills effectively to support choices related to responsible and healthy sexuality - Describe some common misconceptions about sexuality in our culture, and explain how these may cause harm to people and

	<p>Demonstrate understanding of how to use decision-making skills effectively to support choices related to responsible sexuality.</p>	<p>how they can be responded to critically and fairly</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Explain how being in an exclusive relationship with another person affects them and their relations with others
	<p>Describe factors (e.g., environmental, hormonal, nutritional) affecting reproductive health in males and females; Demonstrate an understanding of causes and issues related to infertility</p> <p>Demonstrate the skills needed to sustain honest, respectful, and responsible relationships</p> <p>Describe sources of information on and services related to sexual and reproductive health</p> <p>Assess reproductive and sexual health care information and services</p>	<p>Demonstrate an understanding of a variety of mental illnesses and addictions (e.g., eating disorders; major depression; anxiety disorders; etc.), their causes and manifestations, and their effects on personal health and wellbeing</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Describe how their understanding of factors that affect reproductive and sexual health (e.g., environmental factors, genetics, disabilities, sexually transmitted infections, etc.) and their knowledge of proactive health measures and supports (e.g., measures such as breast and testicular examinations, Pap tests, etc.) can be applied to avoid or minimize illness - Describe how to use personal and interpersonal skills to deal with personally stressful situations or to help others deal with stressful situations describe factors that contribute to the stigmatization of mental illness (e.g., myths about the causes of mental illness; insensitive use of language; etc.), and identify strategies that could be used to reduce stigma in their local community
	<p>Analyze the factors (e.g., culture, media) that affect gender roles and sexuality</p> <p>Demonstrate an understanding of the factors (e.g., attitudes, values, and beliefs about gender roles and sexuality) that affect the prevention of behaviour related to STDs, AIDS, and pregnancy</p> <p>Describe the factors (e.g., healthful eating, abstinence from smoking and alcohol) that contribute to healthy pregnancy and birth</p> <p>Describe the characteristics of healthy, respectful, and long-lasting relationships</p> <p>Assess the skills needed to maintain healthy, respectful, and long-lasting relationships</p> <p>Describe the communication skills needed to discuss sexual intimacy and sexuality in a relationship.</p>	<p>Demonstrate an understanding of how relationships develop through various stages, and describe the skills and strategies needed to maintain a satisfactory relationship as the relationship evolves (e.g., communication and interpersonal skills, adaptive and coping skills)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identify their personal aptitudes and interests, and describe how this knowledge can be applied to the development of goals and life plans - Identify the skills and resources that they will need to maintain their personal health and well-being as they become more independent - Analyze the portrayal of different relationships in the media (e.g., movies, song lyrics, television, print media, Internet) with respect to bias and stereotyping, and describe how individuals can take action to encourage more realistic and inclusive messaging

Appendix B: Interview Guide

Introduction: I would first like to thank you for taking the time to participate in this research. As mentioned in the consent form, the purpose of this research is to explore the religious values, cultural norms and secular social environments which may influence perceptions of sex and sexuality of Canadian Pakistani Muslims. This interview will be approximately an hour in length and you may refuse to answer any question or take part in any discussion that you are not comfortable with. Also, you do not have to provide any reason for not responding to questions or for refusing to take part in the interview. As a participant, you may withdraw from the study at any time. To begin, I will ask you some general background questions which will be followed by questions about your perceptions of sex education and sexuality, addressing matter of sex and sexual identity in the family and the influences of society and religion on your perceptions. As a token of our appreciation for your participation you will receive a \$10 honourarium.

A. Demographics

1. How old are you?
2. What is your gender?
3. Which religion do you identify with?
 - a. Which sect of Islam do you follow?
 - b. Would you say that you are religious? Probe for how they identify religiosity (e.g., attend mosque, pray, etc.).
4. Where were you born?
5. What is your current status of citizenship?
 - a. **Immigrated to Canada**
 - i. How many years have you been in Canada?
 - ii. How old were you when you arrived to Canada?
 - iii. Have you lived in the same area since immigration or moved to different areas within the country/province?
 - b. **Born in Canada**
 - i. Have you resided in the same area or moved to different areas within the country/province?
6. What is your native language?
 - a. Do you prefer to communicate in your native language or English?
 - b. How fluent would you say your English is?
 - c. How fluent would you say your immediate family (e.g., mother, father, siblings, etc.) is in terms of speaking English?
7. How many times have you visited Pakistan?
 - a. When was the last time you visited Pakistan?
 - b. How old were you?
 - c. Was this a positive or negative experience? Why?
 - i. Were there any cultural/religious expectations that stood out to you during your visits to Pakistan? Explain
 - ii. Were there different expectations for males and females?

- d. Based on your experiences, would you consider Pakistan as being inclusive of different religious perspectives? Probe for examples.
- 8. What is your highest level of education?
 - a. Which levels of education did you complete in Canada (e.g., elementary, high school, college/university)?
 - b. After completing your highest level of education, would you consider yourself religiously more conservative or liberal? Probe for examples and reasoning.
 - c. Has your education affected your religious views in anyway?
- 9. Are you currently employed?
 - a. What is your profession?
 - b. Where do you work?
 - c. How long have you worked there?
 - d. Has your job ever effected your religious views?

B. Influence of Secular Society on Religion

- 1. Has residing in a secular-pluralistic society such as Canada, helped or hindered your views regarding sex and sexual education?
 - a. Has a clash occurred between your religion and Canadian culture?
- 2. Would you rather spend time with people from your own community (Pakistani Muslims) or with the larger Canadian society? Explain
- 3. How have you adapted to Canadian culture? Explain
 - a. Do you feel a sense of belonging in Canadian society?
- 4. If you could would you return to Pakistan?
 - a. Explain

C. Addressing Matters of Sex and Sexual Identity in the Family

- 1. How many people are in your immediate family?
 - a. How many brothers and/or sisters do you have?
- 2. Are you able to comfortably discuss matters of sex and sexual identity within your immediate family? Explain.
 - a. Are such discussions valuable to your family?
 - b. At what age should such discussions begin? Explain
- 3. How would you begin sex education conversations in the home?
- 4. Have you had discussions of sex education with your friends/peers? Why or why not?
- 5. In your community, have religious leaders or other religious figures discussed sex education or brought such issues to the forefront?
 - a. If yes, how was this experience for you? Explain.
 - b. If no, would such discussions be valuable to you? Explain.
- 6. Did you participate in religious classes (e.g., Madressa, Quran classes)?
 - a. If yes, did you connect more with your peers in religious classes or in public schools?
 - i. Did you discuss sex education matters with peers in religion classes? Why or why not?
 - b. If no, do you think these classes would have been beneficial to you?
- 7. If an immediate family member did not conform to gender/sexuality norms, how would you address this matter as a family?

- a. Explain

Parents:

1. Would you be accepting of your children if they did not conform to gender/sexuality norms?
2. Would matters of sex and sexuality be addressed differently for male vs. female children?
3. Are you more likely to allow your son(s), daughter(s) or both to participate in formal sex education? Explain

Youth:

1. Hypothetically, in the future if you had a son and daughter would you allow them to participate in sex education?
 - a. Why or why not?
 - b. Would you rather have your son or your daughter participate in sex education? Explain
2. As a female, would you consider family discussions regarding sex and sexuality helpful?
 - a. Are there any gendered biases that you have noticed in such discussions? Would these discussions be different in instances with males?
 - b. In the future would you be willing to marry a man who had been sexually active or took part in dating relationships prior to marriage?
3. As a male, would you consider family discussions regarding sex and sexuality helpful?
 - a. Are there any gendered biases that you have noticed in such discussions? Would these discussions be different in instances with females?
 - b. In the future would you be willing to marry a woman who had been sexually active or took part in dating relationships prior to marriage?

D. Perceptions of Sex Education and Sexuality

1. At what age did you first discuss sex?
 - a. Who did you have this discussion with? Did you find that they addressed the topic adequately?
 - b. Was this discussion helpful in understanding concepts of sex and sexuality?
 - c. Did the discussion address all of your questions/concerns regarding this topic?
2. Did you ever receive formal sex education?
 - a. How many times did you receive formal sex education?
 - b. Was the formal sex education program effective/adequate to understanding sexuality/sex?
 - c. What topics were covered?
 - d. After attending the formal sex education programs did you discuss the contents with peers or others in the class? Explain
 - e. If you didn't receive formal sex education, did you have conversations regarding the material with individuals who did?

- f. Should formal sex education be provided to youth in school? Why or why not?
- 3. How comfortable are you with discussing matters of sexual identity and sex with others?
 - a. Are you more comfortable discussing sexual matters with your family, peers or outsiders (e.g., teachers, online outlets, etc.)? Why or why not?
 - b. What are your views pertaining to different sexual identities (e.g., Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transsexual, Queer, etc.)?
 - i. How has your religion impacted your perceptions of these groups?
- 4. Have you participated in dating or sexual relationships (outside of marriage)?
 - a. If yes, how many relationships have you been in?
 - i. Did your religious views influence such relationships? Explain
 - ii. Were there elements of honour or guilt that arose from participating in such relationships?
 - iii. Did you receive any form of backlash from participating in such relationships? (e.g., community gossip, family honour, etc.)
 - b. If no, why not?
- 5. How has your religion impacted your views pertaining to sex and sex education?
 - a. Would you consider discussions of sex and sex education pertinent to being Muslim?
- 6. Has the media played a role on your perceptions of sex and sexual identities (T.V., movies, social media, etc.)?
 - a. Which forms of media had the greatest impact? Why?
 - b. Did this impact your views positively or negatively?
 - c. Is the media an adequate outlet for acquiring sex education information?
- 7. Would you say your overall views pertaining to sex and sex education are positive or negative?

Parents:

- 1. Did someone discuss sex and sexuality with you prior to marriage?
 - a. Who would you say was more knowledgeable regarding such topics: you or your spouse?
 - i. If it was your spouse, did they teach/talk/explain everything to you?
 - ii. If it was you, did you teach/talk/explain everything to your spouse?
 - b. Would you consider your relationship with your spouse ‘healthy’?
 - i. Why or why not?

Closing Statement: Thank you again for your time, it has been an absolute pleasure to learn from you about your experiences.

Appendix C: Consent Form

Perceptions of Sex Education in Pakistani Muslim Communities in Canada

You are invited to participate in a research study entitled Perceptions of Sex Education in Pakistani Muslim Communities in Canada. This study has been reviewed by the University of Ontario Institute of Technology Research Ethics Board 14231 and originally approved on February 02, 2017.

Please read this consent form carefully, and feel free to ask the Researcher any questions that you might have about the study. If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study, please contact the Ethics and Compliance Coordinator at 905 721 8668 ext. 3693 or researchethics@uoit.ca.

Researcher(s):

Dr. Arshia Zaidi
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Professor, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities
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Mehek Arif
Student Lead
Graduate Student, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities
Mehek.Arif@uoit.ca

Purpose and Procedure:

The purpose of this research is to explore the religious values, cultural norms and secular social environments which may influence perceptions of sex and sexuality of Canadian immigrant Pakistani Muslims. You may choose to take part in this research project where a face-to-face interview will be conducted. The interviews will take approximately one hour to complete, the length of the interview may vary depending on the amount of information the participant provides. During the interview you will be asked questions about your perceptions of sex education and sexuality, addressing matter of sex and sexual identity in the family and the influences of society and religion on your perceptions. Throughout the interview the researcher may ask questions for clarification or take notes to assist with remembering information, but the focus will be on your views. Each interview will be audio taped and later transcribed by the researcher. You have the choice to decline having your interview audio taped. In instances where audio recordings

are declined by the participant, the researcher will take extensive notes throughout the interview.

Potential Benefits:

Your involvement in this research helps to create awareness regarding the importance of open dialogue in matters of sex and sexual identities. Since this research concerns the family, families **may begin to openly discuss any such matters and strengthen the overall dynamic of their** household. The open dialogue within the family may also be a potential benefit for the community. As families become more comfortable with conversations of sex and sexuality they may begin to strengthen ties within the community and influence other families to begin facilitating such discussions within their homes. This fosters the potential for a more supportive, cohesive and informed community.

Potential Risk or Discomforts:

Some subject matter in the interview schedule relating to sexuality and sex education may be embarrassing to discuss or cause emotional distress. The topics covered in the interview also encompass discussions around religion which can be difficult for individuals who may be facing a religious struggle. Since you are sharing some very personal information with us, you may feel psychological/emotional (sadness, anxiety, anger, etc.) or spiritual (religious struggle) discomfort when answering certain questions. To help minimize potential discomfort, you may refuse to answer any question or take part in any discussion that you are not comfortable with. Also, you do not have to provide any reason for not responding to questions or for refusing to take part in the interview. As a participant, you may withdraw from the study at any time.

To further help with any potential emotional distress, the following toll-free helplines are available to you:

ICNA Relief Canada- Family Counselling	905-858-1067
NISA Helpline- Women’s Helpline	1-888-315-6472
Neesha- Muslim Youth Helpline	1-866-627-3342
Mental Health Helpline	1-866-531-2600
Drug and Alcohol Helpline	1-800-565-8603
Toronto AIDS and Sexual Health Information Line	1-800-668-2437

Storage of Data:

The interview recordings will be indefinitely deleted from the digital recorder after each recording is uploaded to a password protected file on a password protected computer. Each digital recording will be uploaded to the password protected computer and deleted from the recorder on the same day as the interview. Once the recording is deleted from the recorder it cannot be reaccessed. Each recording on the computer will be transcribed by the Student Lead, who will not include any identifiers (e.g., names or addresses) in the typed transcription. The interview recordings will be deleted from the password protected file using the security program *Eraser* after all of the interviews have been adequately

transcribed. The aggregate transcribed interviews will be stored electronically in the password protected file. To ensure that participant identities are not revealed, each interview will be saved as a number with no other details. The password protected computer will be kept in a locked drawer and office located at the University of Ontario Institute of Technology. Aggregated data will be kept indefinitely with no identifiers as it may be used for future research purposes, should they arise.

Confidentiality:

You will be asked general demographic information in the beginning of the interview. This includes information regarding your age, gender, citizenship status, education and employment. The demographic information will be followed by more in-depth questions pertaining to sexuality and sex education. Upon completion of the interview, all recordings will be transcribed by the Student Lead who will not include any specific identifiers (e.g., your name) during the transcription process. The Student Lead will save the interview transcript using a number and no other details. Once all of the interviews have been thoroughly transcribed, all recordings will be deleted using *Eraser* and only the transcriptions with no identifying information will be used for analysis and release of findings. The interview transcriptions will be stored on a password protected computer. Your privacy shall be respected. No information about your identity will be shared or published without your permission, unless required by law. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law, professional practice, and ethical codes of conduct.

Right to Withdraw:

Your participation is voluntary, and you can answer only those questions that you are comfortable with. The information that is shared will be held in strict confidence and discussed only with the research team. Furthermore, as a participant, you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw before the study begins, you will be awarded the honourarium. If you choose to withdraw part-way through the study (any time before the end of the interview), the study will stop at that point, the all recordings and any information that you have provided will be deleted, and the honourarium will be awarded. Once you leave and no longer wish to participate in the study your interview recording and all other information will be deleted using the *Eraser* software. However, it is impossible to withdraw the results of the study once they have been published or disseminated.

Compensation:

You will receive a \$10.00 honourarium for your assistance in this research.

Debriefing and Dissemination of Results:

Upon completion of the study you will be verbally debriefed by the Interviewer. As a participant you have the right to be informed about the results of the study. If interested in receiving the final research paper, please contact Mehek.Arif@uoit.ca.

Participant Concerns and Reporting:

If you have any questions concerning the research study or experience any discomfort related to the study, please contact the researcher Arshia Zaidi at 905 721 8668 ext: 3443 or Arshia.Zaidi@uoit.ca or Mehek Arif at Mehek.Arif@uoit.ca.

Any questions regarding your rights as a participant, complaints or adverse events may be addressed to Research Ethics Board through the Research Ethics Coordinator – researchethics@uoit.ca or 905.721.8668 x. 3693.

By consenting, you do not waive any rights to legal recourse in the event of research-related harm.

Consent to Participate:

1. I have read the consent form and understand the study being described;
2. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered. I am free to ask questions about the study in the future;
3. I freely consent to participate in the research study, understanding that I may discontinue participation at any time without penalty. A copy of this Consent Form has been made available to me.

(Name of Participant)

(Date)

(Signature of Participant)

(Signature of Researcher)